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THE SEVEN PAGODAS.

Descriptive and Historical Papers

RELATING TO

THE SEVEN PAGODAS

ON THE

COROMANDEL COAST.

82172

BY

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EDITOR'S NOTE.

THE papers contained in this volume, descriptive of the Sculptures, Inscriptions and Monolithic temples known as the SEVEN PAGODAS, have been reprinted in a collected form, under the orders of the Government of Madras, with a view to promote the intelligent study and examination of these interesting relics of a bygone age. They have been selected as conveying valuable information on the subject, recorded by various competent observers at different times, but so scattered through the published transactions of learned Societies as to be rarely accessible to any one person visiting the spot.*

The origin of the European appellation "Seven Pagodas" cannot satisfactorily be traced. The name may have been given, as stated by Dr. Graul's guide, to the five *Rathas*, the Ganesa temple and the Shore temple.† The story of "magnificent pagodas swallowed up by the sea" is as apocryphal as the legend of the submerged city of Bali.

A matter of greater interest and importance, the age of the Sculptures and Inscriptions at Mâvalivaram, has not, it is to be regretted, been definitely ascertained. No date has—if the record of such exist—been found in any one of the Inscriptions.

* Proceedings of the Madras Government, 1st May 1868.

† Reise nach Ostindien, Vol. III., p. 202.

Mr. Fergusson, writing of the *Rathas*, states as his opinion that they were "carved by the Hindus, probably about 1300 A. D."* The researches of Sir Walter Elliot led him to fix the era of the oldest Tamil Inscription on the rocks of Mâvalivaram at the latter part of the 11th century, and that of the rock inscription at Sâluvan Kuppam at the commencement of the 12th century.†

The Sanscrit Inscriptions are doubtless anterior in date to those in the Tamil language. The Rev. Mr. Taylor conjectures that the excavations and sculptures, together with these older Inscriptions, were accomplished in the 16th or 17th century. Sir Walter Elliot, on the other hand, is of opinion that they could not have been made later than the 6th century.

The following valuable remarks by Mr. Fergusson explain the style of the monolithic *Rathas*:—

"Although these *Raths*, as they are called locally, are comparatively modern, and belong to a different faith, they certainly constitute the best representations now known of the forms of the Buddhist buildings * *. and make their external forms more intelligible than they could otherwise be made from the mere internal copies of them which alone we possess [elsewhere] in the rock-cut examples. There are no essential differences which cannot be accounted for by the consideration that the sacred caves of the Buddhists were designed for a well-understood purpose—the Chaityas as temples, the Viharas as residences—which was the invariable rule in Buddhist times. When their successors the Hindus, began to follow their example, they copied blindly and unmeaningly. * * This * explains many points in the architecture [of the South of India] which without this would be perfectly unintelligible. The Raths are, in fact, transition specimens, and as such link the two styles together, the one serving to explain the peculiarities of the other."‡

* History of Architecture, Vol. II., p. 502.

† See p. 140 f., *infra*.

‡ History of Architecture, Vol. II., p. 504.

Some notes, corrective and explanatory, have been added by the Editor; these are distinguished by brackets [·]. The orthography of Indian names occurring in these papers has been revised, and a uniform system of transliteration adopted.

In the Appendix will be found, among other matters, copies of the Sanscrit Inscriptions made by Mr. Arthur Burnell of the Madras Civil Service. Also a description of the Pagodas by Kâvali Lakshmayya, printed in the original language from the Mackenzie MSS. in which it has lain for the last sixty odd years. This document gives a more detailed account of the antiquities at Mâvalivaram than is contained in any of the other papers on the subject; its translation, with Braddock's description, will probably be found the most useful guide to a traveller visiting the spot. An Index to the whole has been added.

The English letter press and illustrations have been executed by the Foster Press. The Devanâgarî printing was performed at the Press of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

A sketch map, carefully executed by the Revenue Survey Department, accompanies the volume. It contains ground plans of the monolithic temples and principal excavations.

MADRAS, *September* 1869.

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THE SEVEN PAGODAS.

I.—*Some account of the Sculptures and Ruins at Mâvalipuram, a place a few miles north of Sadras, and known to seamen by the name of the Seven Pagodas.* By WILLIAM CHAMBERS, ESQ.

[From the Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. 1788.]

AS amidst inquiries after the histories and antiquities of Asia at large, those of that division of it in which this society* resides, may seem on many accounts to lay claim to a particular share of its attention, a few hints put down from recollection, concerning some monuments of Hindu antiquity, which, though situated in the neighbourhood of European settlements on the Coromandel Coast, have hitherto been little observed, may it is conceived, be acceptable, at least as they may possibly give rise hereafter to more accurate observations, and more complete discoveries on the same subject. The writer of this account went first to view them in the year 1772, and curiosity led him thither again in 1776; but as he neither measured the distances nor size of the objects, nor committed to writing at the time the observations he made on them, he

[* The Asiatic Society of Bengal.]

hopes to be excused if, after the lapse of so many years, his recollection should fail him in some respects, and his account fall far short of that precision and exactness, which might have been expected, had there then existed in India so powerful an incentive to diligent inquiry, and accurate communication, as the establishment of this society must now prove.

The monuments he means to describe, appear to be the remains of some great city, that has been ruined many centuries ago; they are situated close to the sea, between Covelong and Sadras, somewhat remote from the high road, that leads to the different European settlements. And when he visited them in 1776, there was still a native village adjoining to them, which retained the ancient name, and in which a number of Brahmans resided, that seemed perfectly well acquainted with the subjects of most of the sculptures to be seen there.

The rock, or rather hill of stone, on which great part of these works are executed, is one of the principal marks for mariners as they approach the coast, and to them the place is known by the name of the *Seven Pagodas*, possibly because the summits of the rock have presented them with that idea as they passed: but it must be confessed, that no aspect which the hill assumes, as viewed on the shore, seems at all to authorize this notion; and there are circumstances, which will be mentioned in the sequel, that would lead one to suspect, that this name has arisen from some such number of Pagodas that formerly stood here, and in time have been buried in the waves. But, be that as it may, the appellation by which the natives distinguish it, is of a quite different origin: in their language, which is the

Tamil, (improperly termed *Malabar,*) the place is called Mâvalipuram, which, in Sanscrit, and the languages of the more northern Hindus, would be Mahâbalipura, or the City of the great Bali. For the Tamulians, (or Malabars,) having no *h* in their alphabet, are under a necessity of shortening the Sanscrit word *mahâ,* great, and write it *mâ.** They are obliged also, for a similar reason, to substitute a *v* for a *b,* in words of Sanscrit, or other foreign original that begin with that letter; and the syllable *am,* at the end, is merely a termination, which, like *um* in Latin, is generally annexed to neuter substances.† To this etymology of the name of this place it may be proper to add, that Bali is the name of a hero very famous in Hindu romance; and that the river Mâvaligangâ, which waters the eastern side of Ceylon, where the Tamil language also prevails, has probably taken its name from him, as, according to that orthography, it apparently signifies the Ganges of the great Bali.

The rock, or hill of stone, above mentioned, is that which first engrosses the attention on approaching the place; for, as it rises abruptly out of a level plain of great extent, consists chiefly of one single stone, and is situated very near to the sea-beach, it is such a kind of object as an inquisitive traveller would naturally turn aside to examine. Its shape is also

* They do indeed admit a substitute [*magâ*], but the abbreviation is most used.

† This explains also, why the Sanscrit word *Veda,* by which the Hindus denominate the books of the law of their religion, is written by the Tamulians *Vedam,* which is according to the true orthography of their language, and no mistake of European travellers, as some have supposed; while the same word is called *Bed* by the Bengalis, who have in effect no *V* in their alphabet.—See Dow, Vol. I. Dissert. p. 41.

singular and romantic, and, from a distant view, has an appearance like some antique and lofty edifice. On coming near to the foot of the rock from the north, works of imagery* and sculpture crowd so thick upon the eye, as might seem to favour the idea of a petrified town, like those that have been fabled in different parts of the world by too credulous travellers.† Proceeding on by the foot of the hill, on the side facing the sea, there is a pagoda rising out of the ground, of one solid stone, about sixteen or eighteen feet high, which seems to have been cut upon the spot out of a detached rock, that has been found of a proper size for that purpose.‡ The top is arched, and the style of architecture, according to which it is formed, different from any now used in those parts. A little further on, there appears upon an huge surface of stone, that juts out a little from the side of the hill, a numerous group of human figures in bas relief, considerably larger than life, representing the most remarkable persons, whose actions are celebrated in the Mahâbhârata, each of them in an attitude, or with weapons or other insignia, expressive of his character, or of some one of his most famous exploits.§ All these figures are, doubtless, much less distinct than they were at first; for, upon comparing these and the rest of the sculptures that are exposed to the sea air, with others at the same place, whose situation has afforded them

* Among these, one object, though a mean one, attracts the attention, on account of the grotesque and ridiculous nature of the design; it consists of two monkeys cut out of one stone, one of them in a stooping posture, while the other is taking the insects out of his head.

† See Shaw's Travels, p. 155, et seq.

[‡ The Ganesa temple appears to be referred to.]

[§ Arjuna's penance.—cp. Braddock, *infra*.]

protection from that element, the difference is striking; the former being every where much defaced, while the others are fresh as recently finished. This defacement is no where more observable, than in the piece of sculpture which occurs next in the order of description. This is an excavation in another part of the east side of the great rock, which appears to have been made on the same plan, and for the same purpose that choultries are usually built in that country; that is to say, for the accommodation of travellers. The rock is hollowed out to the size of a spacious room, and two or three rows of pillars are left, as a seeming support to the mountainous mass of stone which forms the roof. Of what pattern these pillars have originally been, it is not easy now to conjecture; for the air of the sea has greatly corroded them, as well as all the other parts of the cave. And this circumstance renders it difficult to discover, at first sight, that there is a scene of sculpture on the side fronting the entrance. The natives, however, point it out, and the subject of it is manifestly that of *Krishna* attending the herds of Nanda Ghosha* the Admetus of the Hindus; from which circumstance, *Krishna* is also called Gopâla, or the cowherd, as Apollo was entitled Nomius.

The objects which seem next to claim regard, are those upon the hill itself, the ascent of which, on the north, is, from its natural shape, gradual and easy at first, and is in other parts rendered more so, by very excellent steps cut out in several places, where the communication would be difficult or impracticable without them. A winding stair of this sort leads to a kind of temple cut out of the solid rock, with some

[* The cowherd Nanda, the foster and putative father of *Krishna*.]

figures of idols in high relief upon its walls, very well finished, and perfectly fresh, as it faces the west, and is therefore sheltered from the sea air.* From this temple again there are flights of steps, that seem to have led to some edifice, formerly standing upon the hill; nor does it seem absurd to suppose, that this may have been a palace, to which this temple, as a place of worship, may have appertained. For, besides the small detached ranges of stairs that are here and there cut in the rock, and seem as if they had once led to different parts of one great building, there appear in many places small water-channels cut also in the rock, as if for drains to an house; and the whole top of the hill is strewed with small round pieces of brick, which may be supposed, from their appearance, to have been worn down to their present form, during the lapse of many ages. On ascending the hill by its slope on the north, a very singular piece of sculpture presents itself to view. On a plain surface of the rock, which may once have served as the floor of some apartment, there is a platform of stone, about eight or nine feet long, by three or four wide, in a situation rather elevated, with two or three steps leading up to it, perfectly resembling a couch or bed, and a lion very well executed at the upper end of it by way of pillow, the whole of one piece, being part of the hill itself. This the Brahmans, inhabitants of the place, called the bed of Dharmarâja, or Yudhishthira, the eldest of the five brothers, whose fortunes and exploits are the leading subject in the Mahâbhârata. And at a considerable distance from this, at such a distance, indeed, as the apartment of the women might be supposed to be from that of

[* Cp. Braddock, No. 9.]

the men, is a bath excavated also from the solid rock, with steps in the inside, which the Brahmans call the bath of Draupadî, the wife of Yudhishthira and his brothers. How much credit is due to this tradition, and whether this stone couch may not have been anciently used as a kind of throne rather than a bed, is matter for future inquiry. A circumstance, however, which may seem to favour this idea is, that a throne in the Sanscrit, and other Hindu languages, is called *sinhâsana*, which is composed of the words *sinha*, a lion, and *âsana*, a seat.

These are all that appear on that part of the upper surface of the hill, the ascent to which is on the north; but, on descending from thence, you are led round the hill to the opposite side, in which there are steps cut from the bottom to a place near the summit, where is an excavation that seems to have been intended for a place of worship, and contains various sculptures of Hindu Deities. The most remarkable of these, is a gigantic figure of Vishnu, asleep on a kind of bed, with a huge snake wound about in many coils by way of pillow for his head ;* and these figures, according to the manner of this place, are all of one piece, hewn from the body of the rock.

But though these works may be deemed stupendous, they are surpassed by others that are to be seen at the distance of about a mile, or a mile and an half, to the southward of the hill. They consist of two† Pagodas, of about thirty feet long by twenty feet wide, and about as many in height, cut out of the solid rock, and each consisting originally of one

[* Cp. Braddock, No. 19, *infra*.]

[† There are five, the five *Rathas*.]

single stone. Near these also stand an elephant full as big as life, and a lion much larger than the natural size, but very well executed, each hewn also out of one stone. None of the pieces that have fallen off in cutting these extraordinary sculptures are now to be found near or any where in the neighbourhood of them, so that there is no means of ascertaining the degree of labour and time that has been spent upon them, nor the size of the rock or rocks from which they have been hewn, a circumstance which renders their appearance the more striking and singular. And though their situation is very near the sea-beach, they have not suffered at all by the corrosive air of that element, which has provided them with a defence against itself, by throwing up before them a high bank, that completely shelters them. There is also great symmetry in their form; though that of the Pagodas is different from the style of architecture, according to which idol temples are now built in that country. The latter resembles the Egyptian; for the towers are always pyramidical, and the gates and roofs flat, and without arches; but these sculptures approach nearer to the Gothic taste, being surmounted by arched roofs or domes, that are not semi-circular, but composed of two segments of circles meeting in a point at top. It is also observable that the lion in this group of sculptures, as well as that upon the stone couch above mentioned, are perfectly just representations of the true lion; and the natives there give them the name, which is always understood to mean a lion in the Hindu language, to wit, *sinha;* but the figure, which they have made to represent that animal in their idol temples for centuries past, though it bears the same appellation, is

a distorted monster, totally unlike the original; insomuch that it has from hence been supposed that the lion was not anciently known in this country, and that *sinha* was a name given to a monster that existed only in Hindu romance. But it is plain that that animal was well known to the authors of these works, who, in manners as well as arts, seem to have differed much from the modern Hindus.

There are two circumstances attending these monuments, which cannot but excite great curiosity, and on which future inquiries may possibly throw some light. One is, that on one of the Pagodas last mentioned, there is an inscription of a single line, in a character at present unknown to the Hindus.* It resembles neither the *Devanâgarî*, nor any of the various characters connected with or derived from it, which have come to the writer's knowledge from any part of Hindostan. Nor did it, at the time he viewed it, appear to correspond with any character, Asiatic or European, that is commonly known. He had not then, however, seen the alphabet of the *Pâli*, the learned language of the Siamese, a sight of which has since raised in his mind a suspicion, that there is a near affinity between them, if the character be not identically the same. But as these conjectures, after such a lapse of time, are somewhat vague, and the subject of them is perhaps yet within the reach of our researches, it is to be hoped that some method may be fallen upon of procuring an exact copy of this inscription.

The other circumstance is, that though the outward form of the Pagodas is complete, the ultimate design of them has manifestly not been accomplished,

[* Since deciphered by Dr. Babington, see *infra*.]

but seems to have been defeated by some extraordinary convulsion of nature. For the western side of the most northerly one is excavated to the depth of four or five feet, and a row of pillars left on the outside to support the roof; but here the work has been stopped, and an uniform rent of about four inches breadth has been made throughout the solid rock, and appears to extend to its foundations, which are probably at a prodigious depth below the surface of the ground. That this rent has happened since the work began, or while it was carrying on, cannot be doubted; for the marks of the mason's tools are perfectly visible in the excavated part on both sides of the rent, in such a manner as to show plainly that they have been divided by it. Nor is it reasónable to suppose that such a work would ever have been designed, or begun, upon a rock that had previously been rent in two.

Nothing less than an earthquake, and that a violent one, could apparently have produced such a fissure in the solid rock: and that this has been the case in point of fact, may be gathered from other circumstances, which it is necessary to mention in an account of this curious place.

The great rock above described is at some small distance from the sea, perhaps fifty or an hundred yards,* and in that space the Hindu village before mentioned stood in 1776. But close to the sea are the remains of a Pagoda, built of brick,† and dedicated to *Siva*, the greatest part of which has evidently been swallowed up by that element; for the door of the innermost apartment, in which the idol is placed, and

[* Would be more correctly estimated at half a mile.]
[† A mistake: it is built of stone.]

before which there are always two or three spacious courts surrounded with walls, is now washed by the waves; and the pillar used to discover the meridian at the time of founding the Pagoda*† is seen standing at some distance in the sea. In the neighbourhood of this building there are some detached rocks, washed also by the waves, on which there appear sculptures, though now much worn and defaced. And the natives of the place declared to the writer of this account, that the more aged people among them remembered to have seen the tops of several Pagodas far out in the sea, which being covered with copper (probably gilt) were particularly visible at sunrise, as their shining surface used then to reflect the sun's rays, but that now that effect was no longer produced, as the copper had since become incrusted with mould and verdigris.‡

These circumstances look much like the effects of a sudden inundation; and the rent in the rock above described makes it reasonable to conjecture that an earthquake may have caused the sea to overflow its boundaries, and that these two formidable enemies may have joined to destroy this once magnificent city. The account which the Brahmans, natives of the place, gave of its origin and downfall, partly, it should seem, on the authority of the Mahâbhârata, and partly on that of later records, at the same time that it countenances this idea, contains some other curious particulars, which may seem to render it worthy of attention. Nor ought it to be rejected on account of that

* See Voyage du M. Gentil, Vol. I., page 158.

[† More probably a flag-staff, *dhvajastambha*. It has been taken by some for a *lingam*, which is manifestly an error.—cp. Bp. Heber's Journal and Bruce's Scenes and Sights in the East.]

[‡ Cp. Gubbins, *infra*.]

fabulous garb, in which all nations, but especially those of the East, have always clad the events of early ages.

"Hiranyâksha (said they) was a gigantic prince, "that rolled up the earth into a shapeless mass, and "carried it down to the abyss, whither Vishnu fol- "lowed him in the shape of an hog, killed him with "his tusks, and replaced the earth in its original "situation. The younger brother of Hiranyâksha "was Hiranyakasipu, who succeeded him in his king- "dom, and refused to do homage to Vishnu. He "had a son named Prahlâda, who at an early age "openly disapproved this part of his father's conduct, "being under the tuition of Sukrâchârya. His father "persecuted him on this account, banished him, and "even sought to kill him, but was prevented by "the interposition of heaven, which appeared on the "side of Prahlâda. At length, Hiranyakasipu was "softened, and recalled his son to his court, where, "as he sat in full assembly, he began again to argue "with him against the supremacy of Vishnu, boasted "that he himself was lord of all the visible world, "and asked what Vishnu could pretend to more. "Prahlâda replied, that Vishnu had no fixed abode, "but was present everywhere. Is he, said his father, "in that pillar? Yes, returned Prahlâda. Then let "him come forth, said Hiranyakasipu; and, rising "from his seat, struck the pillar with his foot; upon "which Vishnu, in the Narasimha Avatâra, that is "to say, with a body like a man, but an head like a "lion, came out of the pillar, and tore Hiranyakasipu "in pieces. Vishnu then fixed Prahlâda on his "father's throne; and his reign was a mild and vir- "tuous one, and as such was a contrast to that of

"his father. He left a son named Namuchi,* who "inherited his power and his virtues, and was the "father of Bali, the founder of the once magni- "ficent city of Mahâbalipura, the situation of which "is said to be described in the following verse, taken "from the Mahâbhârata:—

गङ्गायाः दक्षिणे भागे योजनानां शतद्वयं।
पञ्चयोजनमात्रेण पूर्वाब्धेश्चैव पश्चिमे॥

The sense of which is literally this:—

"South of the Ganges two hundred yojanas,
"Five yojanas† westward from the eastern sea."

Such is the Brahman account of the origin of this place. The sequel of its history, according to them, is as follows:—

"The son of Bali was Bâṇâsura, who is repre- "sented as a giant with a thousand hands. Aniruddha, "the son‡ of Kṛishṇa, came to his court in disguise, "and seduced his daughter; which produced a war, "in the course of which Aniruddha was taken prisoner, "and brought to Mahâbalipura;§ upon which Kṛishṇa "came in person from his capital Dvârakâ, and laid "siege to the place. Śiva guarded the gates, and "fought for Bâṇâsura, who worshipped him with

[* An error: Virochana was the son of Prahlâda, and father of Bali; Namuchi was the son of Viprachitti by Simhikâ, sister of Hiraṇya-kasipu.—See the Vishṇupurâṇa.]

† The *yojana* is a measure often mentioned in the Sanscrit books, and, according to some accounts, is equal to nine, according to others twelve English miles. But at that rate the distance here mentioned, between this place and the Ganges, is prodigiously exaggerated, and will carry us far south of Ceylon. This, however, is not surprising in an Hindu poem; but, from the second line it seems pretty clear that this city, at the time this verse was composed, must have stood at a great distance from the sea.

[‡ Aniruddha was the grandson, not the son, of Krishna.]

[§ Śoṇitapura, according to the Vishṇupurâṇa—cp. Wilson's trans., Book V. chap. 33.]

"his thousand hands; but *Krishna* found means to "overthrow *Siva*, and having taken the city, cut off "all Bânâsura's hands, except two, with which he "obliged him to do him homage. He continued in "subjection to *Krishna* till his death; after which a "long period ensued, in which no mention is any "where made of this place, till a prince arose, whose "name was Malêcheren,* who restored the kingdom "to great splendour, and enlarged and beautified "the capital. But in his time the calamity is said "to have happened by which the city was entirely "destroyed; and the cause and manner of it have "been wrapped up by the Brahmans in the following "fabulous narration. Malêcheren, (say they,) in an "excursion which he made one day alone, and in dis-"guise, came to a garden in the environs of the city, "where was a fountain so inviting, that two celestial "nymphs had come down to bathe there. The Râjâ "became enamoured of one of them, who condes-"cended to allow of his attachment to her; and she "and her sister-nymph used thenceforward to have "frequent interviews with him in that garden. On "one of those occasions, they brought with them a "male inhabitant of the heavenly regions, to whom "they introduced the Râjâ; and between him and "Malêcheren a strict friendship ensued; in conse-"quence of which he agreed, at the Râjâ's earnest "request, to carry him in disguise to see the court "of the divine Indra, a favour never before granted "to any mortal. The Râjâ returned from thence "with new ideas of splendour and magnificence, which "he immediately adopted in regulating his court. and "his retinue, and in beautifying his seat of govern-

[* The same as Mallêsudu? cp. Taylor, *infra*.]

"ment. By this means Mahâbalipura became soon "celebrated beyond all the cities of the earth; and "an account of its magnificence having been brought "to the gods assembled at the court of Indra, their "jealousy was so much excited at it, that they sent "orders to the God of the Sea to let loose his billows, "and overflow a place which impiously pretended to "vie in splendour with their celestial mansions. This "command he obeyed, and the city was at once over-"flowed by that furious element, nor has it ever "since been able to rear its head."

Such is the mode in which the Brahmans choose to account for the signal overthrow of a place devoted to their wretched superstitions.

It is not, however, improbable, that the rest of this history may contain, like the mythology of Greece and Rome, a great deal of real matter of fact, though enveloped in dark and figurative representations. Through the disguise of these we may discern some imperfect records of great events, and of revolutions that have happened in remote times; and they perhaps merit our attention the more, as it is not likely that any records of ancient Hindu history exist but in this obscure and fantastic dress. Their poets seem to have been their only historians, as well as divines; and whatever they relate, is wrapped up in this burlesque garb, set off, by way of ornament, with circumstances hugely incredible and absurd, and all this without any date, and in no other order or method, than such as the poet's fancy suggested, and found most convenient. Nevertheless, by comparing names and grand events, recorded by them, with those interspersed in the histories of other nations, and by calling in the assistance of ancient

monuments, coins, and inscriptions, as occasion shall offer, some probable conjectures, at least, if not important discoveries, may, it is hoped, be made on these interesting subjects. It is much to be regretted, that a blind zeal, attended with a total want of curiosity, in the Muhammadan governors of this country, has been so hostile to the preservation of Hindu monuments and coins. But a spirit of inquiry among Europeans may yet perhaps be successful; and an instance, which relates to the place above described, though in itself a subject of regret, leaves room to hope that futurity may yet have in store some useful discoveries. The Kâzî of Madras, who had often occasion to go to a place in the neighbourhood of Mahâbalipura, assured the writer of this account, that within his remembrance a ryot of those parts had found, in ploughing his ground, a pot of gold and silver coins, with characters on them which no one in those parts, Hindu or Muhammadan, was able to decipher. He added, however, that all search for them would now be vain, for they had doubtless been long ago devoted to the crucible, as, in their original form, no one there thought them of any value.

The inscription on the Pagoda mentioned above, is an object which, in this point of view, appears to merit great attention. That the conjecture, however, which places it among the languages of Siam; may not seem in itself chimerical, the following passages from some authors of repute are here inserted, to show that the idea of a communication having formerly subsisted between that country and the coast of Coromandel, is by no means without foundation; nay, that there is some affinity, even at this day,

between the Pâli and some of the Hindu languages: and that the same mode of worship seems formerly to have prevailed in the Deccan, which is now used by the Siamese.

Monsieur de la Loubère, in his excellent account of Siam, speaks thus of the origin of the Pâli language:—

"The Siamese, says he, do not mention any coun-
"try where the Pâli language, which is that of their
"laws and their religion, is at present in use. They
"suppose, indeed, on the report of some among them,
"who have been on the Coast of Coromandel, that
"it bears some resemblance to some of the dialects
"of that country; but they at the same time allow,
"that the character in which it is written is not known
"but among themselves. The secular Missionaries
"settled at Siam believe that this language is not
"entirely a dead one; because they have seen in
"their hospital a man from the neighbourhood of
"Cape Comorin, who mixed several Pâli words in
"his discourse, declaring that they were in use in his
"country, and that he himself had never studied nor
"knew any other than his mother-tongue. They at
"the same time mention, as matter of certainty, that
"the religion of the Siamese comes from those parts;
"as they have read in a Pâli book that Samana
"Kodam,* the idol of the Siamese, was the son of a
"king of Ceylon."†‡

[* The Siamese form of *Sramana* Gautama, a name applied to Buddha, signifying 'Gautama the ascetic.']

[† Buddha, according to tradition, was the son of *Suddhodana*, the king of Kapilavastu, a city and State on the borders of Nepal.]

‡ "Les Siamois ne nomment aucun Pais, ou la langue Bali qui est
"celle de leurs loix et de leur religion, soit aujourdhuy en usage.
"Ils soupçonnent à la vérité, sur le rapport de quelques-uns d'entre

The language of the man mentioned in this passage, who came from the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, could be no other than the Tamil; but the words here alluded to may very possibly have been derivatives from the Sanscrit, common to both that and the Pâli.

In another part of the same work, where the author treats of the history of Samana Kodam at large, on the authority of the Pâli books, he says:—

"The father of Samana Kodam, according to the "same Pâli book, was a king of Teve Lankâ, that "is to say, of the famous Ceylon."*

Here it is observable, that, while the country of Siam seems to be utterly unknown, both to the natives of Ceylon and Hindostan, Ceylon should nevertheless be so well known to the Siamese, and under the same appellation it bears in the Sanscrit. An epithet is also here prefixed to it which seems to be the same as that used by the Hindus in speaking of that island; for they also call it, in Sanscrit, Deva Lankâ, or the Sacred Lankâ. From several passages in the same work it also appears, that the Sanscrit word *mahâ*, which signifies "great" is constantly used

"eux, qui ont été a la côte de Coromandel, que la langue Balic a quel-"que resemblance avec quelqu'un des dialects de ce pais la: mais "ils conviennent en même temps que les lettres de la langue Balio "ne sont connues que chez eux. Les Missionaires séculiers à Siam "croyent que cette langue n'est pas entièrement morte; parce qu'ils "ont vu dans leur hôpital un homme des environs du Cap de Como-"rin, qui metoit plusieurs mots Balis dans son langage, assurant "qu'ils etoient en usage en son pais, et que luy n'avoit jamais etudié, "et ne savoit que sa langue maternelle. Ils donnent d'ailleurs pour "certain que la religion des Siamois vient de ces quartiers la, parce "qu'ils ont lu dans un livre Balic que Sommonacodom que les Sia-"mois adorent, etoit fils d'un Roy de l'isle de Ceylone."

* "Le pere de Sommonacodom etoit, selon ce mesme livre Bali, un Roy de Teve Lanca, c'est a dire un Roy de la célèbre Ceylan."

in the Pâli language in the same sense. And the names of the days of the week are most of them the same in Sanscrit and in Pâli, as may be seen in the following comparison of them :—

Sanscrit.	Pâli.*	
Âditya-vâra,	Van Athit,	Sunday.
Soma-vâra,	Van† Tchân,	Monday.
Mangala-vâra,	Van Angkaan,	Tuesday.
Budha-vâra,	Van Pout,	Wednesday.
Brihaspati-vâra,	Van Prahout,	Thursday.
Sukra-vâra,	Van Souc,	Friday.
Sani-vâra,	Van Sâoa,	Saturday.

The same author gives, in another place, an account of a pretended print of a foot on a rock, which is an object of worship to the Siamese, and is called Prâbât, or the venerable foot. For *prâ*, in Pâli he says, signifies "venerable," which agrees with *parâpara* and *parameshtha* in Sanscrit; and *bât* in the same tongue is a foot, as *pâda* in Sanscrit. After which he goes on to say :—

"We know that in the island of Ceylon, there "is a pretended print of a human foot, which has "long been held in great veneration. It represents, "doubtless, the left foot; for the Siamese say that "Samana Kodam set his right foot on their Prâbât "and his left foot at Lankâ."‡§

From Knox's History of Ceylon it appears, that the impression here spoken of is upon the hill called,

[* The names given are Siamese.]

† Here one Hindu word is substituted for another; for *Chând* in Hindustani, and *Chandra* in Sanscrit, signify the moon as well as *Soma*.

‡ "On sait que dans l'isle de Ceylan, il y a un prétendu vestige de "pié humain, que depuis long temps y est en grande vénération. Il "représente sans doute le pié gauche; car les Siamois disent que "Sommonacodom posa le pié droit à leur *prabat*, et le pié gauche à "Lancà."

[§ Cp. Spence Hardy's Manual of Budhism, p. 212.]

by the Singhalese, "Hamalell;" by Europeans, "Adam's Peak;" and that the natives believe it to be the footstep of their great idol Buddou, between the worship of whom, as described by Knox, and that of Samana Kodam, as related by M. de la Loubère, there is a striking resemblance in many particulars, which it may be proper here to enumerate.

1*st*.—Besides the footsteps above mentioned, there is a kind of tree (which, from description, appears to be the Pîpal tree* so well known in India) which the Singhalese hold sacred to Buddou, and the Siamese to Samana Kodam; insomuch that the latter deem it meritorious to hang themselves upon it. The Singhalese call it Bogahah;† for *gahah*, in their language, signifies a tree; and *bo* seems to be an abbreviation of Bod or Buddou;‡ and the Siamese call it, in Pâli, Pra si Mahâ Pout, which, according to La Loubère's interpretation, signifies the tree of the great Pout.§ This he supposes to mean Mercury; for he observes that Pout, or Poot, is the name of that planet in the Pâli term for Wednesday; and in another place, he says, Pout is one of the names of Samana Kodam. It is certain that Wednesday is called the name of Bod, or Budd, in all the Hindu languages, among which the Tamil, having no *b*, begins the word with a *p*, which brings it very near the Pâli mode of writing it. It is equally certain

[* Ficus religiosa, called by Buddhists the Bodhi tree, "the tree of wisdom," because under it Gautama became Buddha "the Enlightened."—Cp. Bigandet's life of Gaudama, p. 85.]

[† The 'bo-tree.']

[‡ Fo, Bod, Buddou, Budd, Baoth, Pood, &c., are some of the numerous modes in which Gautama's appellative, Buddha, has been spelt.—See Manual of Budhism, p. 354.]

§ In vulgar Siamese they call it *Ton-pô*.

that the days of the week, in all these languages, are called after the planets in the same order as with us; and that Bod, Budd, or Pood, holds the place of Mercury. From all which it should appear that Pout, which, among the Siamese, is another name for Mercury, is itself a corruption of Buddou, who is the Samana Kodam of the Greeks. And it is singular that, according to M. de la Loubère, the mother of Samana Kodam is called, in Pâli, Mahamania,* or the great Mania, which resembles much the name of Maia, the mother of Mercury. At the same time that the Taṃil termination *an*, which renders the word Poodan, creates a resemblance between this and the Woden of the Gothic nations, from which the same day of the week is denominated, and which, on that and other accounts, is allowed to be the Mercury of the Greeks.†

2ndly.—The temples of Samana Kodam are called Pihan; and round them are habitations for the priests, resembling a college; so those of Boddou are called Vihar, and the principal priests live in them as in a college. The word Vihar,‡ or, as the natives of Bengal would write it, Bihar, is Sanscrit; and Ferishtah, in his History of Bengal, says, that this name was given by the Hindus to the Province of Behar, because it was formerly so full of Brahmans, as to be, as it were, one great seminary of learning, as the word imports.

[* Mahâmâyâ, Mahâmâyâdevî, Mâyâ, or Mâyâdevî.]

[† "Much erroneous speculation has originated in confounding Budha, the son of Soma, and regent of the planet Mercury, 'he who knows,' the intelligent, with Buddha, any deified mortal, or 'he by whom the truth is known.'—Wilson's Vishnu Purâna." Spence Hardy, Manual of Budhism, p. 354 *n.*]

[‡ Vihâra.]

3rdly.—The Siamese have two orders of priests, and so have the worshippers of Buddou. Both the one and the other are distinguished by a yellow habit, and by another circumstance, which must be mentioned in the words of the respective authors. Knox says of the Buddou Priests, "They have the "honour of carrying the Tallipot* with the broad "end over their heads foremost, which none but the "king does." And M. de la Loubère says of the Siamese priests, "To defend themselves from the "sun, they have the Talapat, which is their little "umbrella, in the form of a screen."†

The word here used is common to most of the Hindu languages, and signifies the leaf of the Palmyra tree. M. de la Loubère mentions it as a Siamese word, without seeming to know its origin or primary signification.

4thly.—The priests of Buddou, as well as those of Samana Kodam,‡ are bound to celibacy, as long as they continue in the profession; but both the one and the other are allowed to lay it down and marry.

5thly.—They both eat flesh, but will not kill the animal.

6thly.—The priests of either nation are of no particular tribe, but are chosen out of the body of the people.

These circumstances plainly show that this is a system of religion different from that of the Vedas; and some of them are totally inconsistent with the

[* Tâlapât, "palm-leaf."]

† "Pour se garentir du soleil ils ont le Talapat, qui est leur petit "parasol en forme d'écran."

[‡ The same persons: Samana Kodam (*Sramana* Gautama) was the Buddha, *i. e.* the "Enlightened." (Max Müller.) See note * at p. 17.]

principles and practice of the Brahmans. And, indeed, it is manifest, from Knox's whole account, that the religion of the Singhalese is quite distinct from that which prevails at this day among the Hindus, nor does it appear that there is such a race of men as that of the Brahmans among them. The only part in which there seems to be any agreement is in the worship of the Devatâs, which has probably crept in among them from their Tamil neighbours; but that is carried on in a manner very different from the Brahmanical system, and appears to be held by the nation at large in very great contempt, if not abhorrence. Knox's account of it is this: "Their temples "(*i. e.* those of the Devatâs) are, he says, called "Kôvils," which is the Tamil word for Pagoda. He then goes on to say, "A man piously disposed, "builds a small house at his own charge, which is the "temple, and himself becomes priest thereof. This "house is seldom called God's House, but most "usually Yakko,* the Devil's." But of the prevailing religion he speaks in very different terms, and describes it as carried on with much parade and splendour and attended with marks of great antiquity. "The "pagodas, or temples of their gods, says he, are so "many that I cannot number them. Many of them "are of rare and exquisite work, built of hewn stone, "engraven with images and figures; but by whom, "and when, I could not attain to know, the inhabi- "tants themselves being ignorant therein. But sure "I am, they were built by far more ingenious artifi- "cers than the Chingelayst that now are on the land. "For the Portuguese, in their invasions, have defaced "some of them, which there is none found that hath

[* Yaksha.] [† Singhalese.]

"skill enough to repair to this day." In another place, he says, "Here are some ancient writings, "engraven, upon rocks, which puzzle all that see "them. There are divers great rocks in divers parts "in Cande Uda,* and in the northern parts. These "rocks are cut deep with great letters for the space "of some yards, so deep that they may last to the "world's end. Nobody can read them, or make any- "thing of them. I have asked Malabars and Gen- "toos, as well as Chingelays and Moors, but none of "them understood them. There is an ancient temple, "Goddiladenni in Yattanour, stands by a place where "there are of these letters." From all which the antiquity of the nation and their religion is sufficiently evident; and from other passages it is plain, that the worship of Buddou, in particular, has been from remote times a very eminent part of that religion; for the same author, speaking of the tree at Anurodgburro,† in the northern part of the island, which is sacred to Buddou, says, "The due perform- "ance of this worship they reckon not a little meri- "torious; insomuch that as they report, ninety "kings have reigned there successively, where, by "the ruins that still remain, it appears they spared "not for pains and labour, to build temples and high "monuments to the honour of this god, as if they "had been born to hew rocks and great stones, and "lay them up in heaps. These kings are now happy "spirits, having merited it by these labours." And again he says, "For this god, above all other, they "seem to have an high respect and devotion," &c.

And from other authorities it will appear, that this worship has formerly been by no means confined to

[* Kandy.] [† Anurâdhapura.]

Ceylon, but has prevailed in several parts of India prior to that of the Brahmans; nay, that this has been the case even so late as the ninth and twelfth centuries of the Christian Æra.

In the well-known* Anciennes Relations, translated from the Arabic by that eminent orientalist Eusebius Renaudot, the Arabian traveller gives this account of the custom of dancing-women, which continues to this day in the Deccan, but is not known among the Hindus of Bengal, or Hindustan Proper.

"There are in India public women, called women "of the idol, and the origin of this custom is this: "when a woman has made a vow for the purpose of "having children, if she brings into the world a pretty "daughter, she carries it to Bod, (so they call the "idol which they adore,) and leaves it with him."†

This is a pretty just account of this custom, as it prevails at this day in the Deccan; for children are, indeed, devoted to this profession by their parents, and when they grow up in it they are called, in Tamil,‡ *Devadâsi*, or female slaves of the idol. But it is evident they have changed their master since this Arabian account was written, for there is no idol of the name of Bod now worshipped there. And the circumstance of this custom being unknown in other parts of India, would lead one to suspect that the Brahmans, on introducing their system of religion

* Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs Mohametans, qui y allèrent dans le neuvième siècle. Paris, 1718. 8vo.

† "Il y a dans les Indes des femmes publiques, appellées femmes "de l'idole; l'origine de cette coustume est telle: Lorsqu'une femme a "fait un voeu pour avoir des enfans, si elle met au monde une belle "fille, elle l'apporte au *Bod*, c'est ainsi qu'ils appellent l'idole qu'ils "adorent, aupres duquel elle la laisse, &c. Anc. Rel. p. 109.

[‡ The word is Sanscrit, and common to the vernacular languages.]

into that country, had thought fit to retain this part of the former worship, as being equally agreeable to themselves and their new disciples.

The same Arabian travellers give us an account of a very powerful race of Hindu kings, according to them, indeed, the most powerful in India, who then reigned on the Malabar Coast with the title of Balhâra.* Their dominion appears to have extended over Guzerat, and the greatest part, if not the whole, of the ancient kingdom of Vijayapûr. For the Arabian geographer quoted by M. Renaudot makes Nahelvârah the metropolis of these princes, which is, doubtless, Nahervalah, the ancient capital of Guzerat; though M. Renaudot seems not to have known that place; and the rest of the description sufficiently shows the great extent of their dominion southward. M. D'Anville speaks of this race of kings on the authority of the Arabian geographer Edrisi, who wrote in the twelfth century, according to whom it appears that their religion was, even so late as that period, not the Brahmanical, but that of which we are now speaking. M. D'Anville's words are these: "Edrisi acquaints "us with the religion which this prince professed in "saying, that his worship was addressed to Bodda, "who, according to St. Jerome and Clemens Alexan- "drinus, was the founder of the sect of the Gym- "nosophists, in like manner as the Brahmans were "used to attribute their institution to Brahmâ."†

[* Cp. Sir H. M. Elliot's History of India, as told by its own Historians, pp. 85—89.]

† "L'Edrisi nous instruit sur la religion que professoit ce Prince, en "disant que son culte s'adressoit à Bodda, que selon St. Jerome and "St. Clement d'Alexandrie, avoit été l'instituteur des Gymnoso- "phistes comme les Brachmanes rapportoient à Brahma leur institut." Ant. Geog. de L'Inde, p. 94.

The authority of Clemens Alexandrinus is also cited on the same subject by Relandus in his 11th Dissertation, where, treating of the language of Ceylon, he explains the word Vihâra, above spoken of, in these terms :—

"Vihâra signifies a temple of their principal god "Buddou, who, as Clemens Alexandrinus has long "ago observed, was worshipped as a god by the "Hindus."*

After the above quotations, the following extract from the voyage of that inquisitive and ingenious traveller M. Gentil, published in 1779, is given as a further and very remarkable illustration of this subject :—

"This system is also that of the Brahmans of our "time; it forms the basis of that religion, which "they have brought with them into the southern "parts of the Peninsula of Hindustan into Madura, "Tanjore, and Mysore.

"There was then in those parts of India, and "principally on the Coast of Coromandel and "Ceylon, a sort of worship, the precepts of which we "are quite unacquainted with. The god, Baouth, "of whom at present they know no more in India "than the name, was the object of this worship; but "it is now totally abolished, except that there may "possibly yet be found some families of Indians "who have remained faithful to Baouth and do not "acknowledge the religion of the Brahmans, and who "are on that account separated from, and despised "by the other castes.

* "*Vehar*, templum dei primarii Buddoe βουττα quem Indos ut "Deum venerari jam olim notavit Clemens Alexandrinus. Strom. lib. "1. p. 223. Rel. Diss. pars tertia, p. 85.

"I have not, indeed, heard that there are any such "families in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry; "but there is a circumstance well worthy of remark, "which none of the travellers that have treated of "the Coast of Coromandel and Pondicherry seem to "have noticed. It is this, that at a short league's "distance to the south of this town, in the plain of "Virapatnam, and pretty near the river, we find a "statue of granite very hard and beautiful. This "statue, which is from three feet to three and a half "in height, is sunk in the sand to the waist, and "weighs doubtless many thousand weight; it is, as "it were, abandoned in the midst of this extensive "plain. I cannot give a better idea of it, than by "saying, that it exactly agrees with, and resembles "the Samana Kodam of the Siamese; its head is of "the same form, it has the same features, its arms "are in the same attitude, and its ears are exactly "similar. The form of this divinity, which has "certainly been made in the country, and which "in no respect resembles the present idols of the "Gentoos, struck me as I passed this plain. I made "various inquiries concerning this singular figure, "and the Tamilians, one and all, assured me that "this was the god Baouth, who was now no longer "regarded, for that his worship and his festivals had "been abolished ever since the Brahmans had made "themselves masters of the people's faith."*

* "Ce système est aussi celui des Brames de nos jours; il fait la "base de la religion qu'ils ont apportée dans le sud de la presqu' isle "de l'Indostan, le Madure, le Tanjaour, et le Maissour.

"Il y avoit alors dans ces parties de l'Inde, & principalement à la "Côte de Coromandel & à Ceylan, un culte dont on ignore absolument "les dogmes: le Dieu Baouth, dont on ne connoit aujourd'hui, dans "l'Inde, que le nom, etoit l'objet de ce culte; mais il est tout-a-fait

M. Gentil then goes on to say a good deal more upon this subject, in the course of which he supposes that this deity is the Fo of the Chinese, whose worship by their own accounts, was brought from India. And, indeed, the abridgement of the name Pout, mentioned in a note of this paper, which the vulgar Siamese reduce to the single syllable Po, seems to countenance this opinion. But as this is foreign to our present purpose, and the above passages, it is hoped, are sufficient to establish what was proposed, it seems high time to take leave of this subject, with an apology for that prolixity which is inseparable from this kind of discussion.

17*th June*, 1784.

"aboli, si ce n'est qu'il se trouve encore quelques familles d'Indiens "séparées & méprisées des autres castes, qui sont restées fidèles à "Baouth, & qui ne reconnoissent point la religion des Brames.

"Je n'ai pas entendu dire qu'il y ait de ces familles aux environs de "Pondichery; cependant, une chose tres digne de remarque, & à "laquelle aucun des voyageurs qui parlent de la Côte de Coromandel "& de Pondichery, n'ont fait attention, est que l'on trouve à une "petite lieue au sud de cette Ville, dans la plaine de Virapatnam, "assez près de la rivière, une statue de Granit très dur & très beau: "cette statue, d'environ trois pieds a trois pieds & demi de hauteur, "est enfoncée dans le sable jusqu'à la ceinture, & pese sans doute "plusieurs milliers; elle est comme abandonnée au milieu de cette "vaste plaine: je ne peux mieux en donner une idée, qu'en disant "qu'elle est exactement conformé & ressemblante a Sommonacodom "des Siamois; c'est la même forme de tête, ce sont les mêmes traits "dans le visage, c'est la même attitude dans les bras, & les oreilles "sont absolument semblables. La forme de cette divinité, qui cer- "tainement a été faite dans le pays, & qui ne ressemble en rien aux "divinités actuelles des Gentils, m'avoit frappé lorsque je passai dans "cette plaine; je fis diverses informations sur cette figure singulière, "les Tamoults m'assurèrent tous que c'etoit Baouth qu' on ne regar- "doit plus; que son culte & ses fêtes etoient cessées depuis que les "Brames s'etoient rendus les maîtres de la croyance du peuple."

II.—*Some account of the Sculptures at Mahâbalipuram; usually called the Seven Pagodas.* By J. GOLDINGHAM, ESQ.

[From the Asiatic Researches, Vol. V. 1798.]

THESE curious remains of antiquity, situate near the sea, are about thirty-eight English miles southerly from Madras. A distant view presents merely a rock, which, on a near approach, is found deserving of particular examination. The attention, passing over the smaller objects, is first arrested by a Hindu pagoda, covered with sculpture, and hewn from a single mass of rock; being about twenty-six feet in height, nearly as long, and about half as broad. Within is the *lingam*,* and a long inscription on the wall, in characters unknown.

Near this structure, the surface of the rock, about ninety feet in extent, and thirty in height, is covered with figures in bas-relief. A gigantic figure of the god Krishna is the most conspicuous, with Arjuna his favourite, in the Hindu attitude of prayer; but so void of flesh, as to present more the appearance of a skeleton than the representation of a living person. Below is a venerable figure, said to be

[* This temple now contains an image of Ganesa.—Cp. Babington, *infra*.]

the father of Arjuna;* both figures proving the sculptor possessed no inconsiderable skill. Here are the representations of several animals, and of one which the Brahmans name *sinha*, or lion; but by no means a likeness of that animal, wanting the peculiar characteristic, the mane. Something intended to represent this is, indeed, visible, which has more the effect of spots. It appears evident, the sculptor was by no means so well acquainted with the figure of the lion as with that of the elephant and monkey, both being well represented in this group. This scene, I understand, is taken from the Mahâbhârata, and exhibits the principal persons whose actions are celebrated in that work.

Opposite, and surrounded by a wall of stone, are pagodas of brick, said to be of great antiquity. Adjoining is an excavation in the rock, the massy roof seemingly supported by columns, not unlike those in the celebrated cavern in the Island of Elephanta, but have been left unfinished. This was probably intended as a place of worship. A few paces onward is another, and a more spacious, excavation, now used, and I suppose originally intended, as a shelter for travellers. A scene of sculpture fronts the entrance, said to represent Krishna attending the herds of Ananda.† One of the group represents a man diverting an infant, by playing on a flute, and holding the instrument as we do.‡ A gigantic figure of the god, with the *gopis*, and several good representations of nature, are observed. The columns

[* A Brahman on the spot states that this figure represents Dronâchâryya, the preceptor of the Kauravas and Pândavas.]

[† Nanda?] [‡ Krishna.]

supporting the roof are of different orders: the base of one is the figure of a Sphynx. On the pavement is an inscription, (see Inscript.) Near is the almost deserted village, which still retains the ancient name Mahâbalipuram. The few remaining Brahmans visit the traveller, and conduct him over the rock.

In the way up the rock a prodigious circular stone is passed under, so placed by nature on a smooth and sloping surface, that you are in dread of its crushing you before you clear it. The diameter of this stone is twenty-seven feet. The top of the rock is strewed with fragments of bricks, the remains, as you are informed, of a palace standing on this site. A rectangular polished slab, about ten feet in length, with the figure of a *simha* couchant, at the south end, is shewn you as the couch of the Dharmarâja. A short way further, the bath used by the females of the palace is pointed out. A tale I suspect fabricated by the Brahmans to amuse the traveller. That some of their own caste had chosen this spot, retired among rocks, and difficult of access, to reside in, and that the bath, as it is called, which is only a rough stone hollowed, was their reservoir for water, would have an air of probability. The couch seems to have been cut from a stone accidentally placed in its present situation, and never to have made a part of the internal furniture of a building. The *simha*, if intended as a lion, is equally imperfect with the figures of the same animal before mentioned.

Descending over immense beds of stone, you arrive at a spacious excavation; a temple dedicated to Siva, who is represented, in the middle compartment, of a large stature and with four arms; the left foot rests on a bull couchant; a small figure of

Brahmâ on the right hand; another of Vishnu on the left; where also the figure of his goddess Pârvatî is observed. At one end of the temple is a gigantic figure of Vishnu, sleeping on an enormous cobra-da-capella with several heads, and so disposed as to form a canopy over the head of the god.* At the opposite end is the goddess Sivâ with eight arms, mounted on a *simha*. Opposed to her is a gigantic figure with a buffalo's head and human body. Between these is a human figure, suspended with the head downwards. The goddess is represented with several warlike weapons, and some armed dwarf attendants; while the monster is armed with a club. In the character of Durgâ, or protector of the virtuous, the goddess is rescuing from the Yamarâjat (the figure with the buffalo's head) the suspended figure fallen improperly into his hands. The figure and action of the goddess are executed in a masterly and spirited style. Over this temple, at a considerable elevation, is a smaller, wrought from a single mass of stone. Here is seen a slab, similar to the Dharmarâja's couch. Adjoining is a temple, in the rough, and a large mass of rock, the upper part roughly fashioned for a pagoda. If a conclusion may be drawn from these unfinished works, an uncommon and astonishing perseverance was exerted in finishing the structures here; and the more so, from the stone being a species of granite, and extremely hard.‡

The village contains but few houses, mostly inhabited by Brahmans, the number of whom has, how-

[* Sesha, "the king of the serpent race as a large thousand-headed snake, at once the couch and canopy of Vishnu, and the upholder of the world, which rests on one of his heads."—Wilson.]

[† Should be Mahishâsura.]

[‡ Cp. Gubbins, *infra*.]

ever decreased of late, owing to a want of the means of subsisting. The remains of several stone edifices are seen here; and a large tank, lined with steps of stone. A canopy for the pagoda attracts the attention, as by no means wanting in magnificence or elegance.* It is supported by four columns, with base and capital, about twenty-seven feet in height; the shaft tapering regularly upwards is composed of a single stone, though not round, but sixteen-sided; measuring at bottom about five and a half feet.

East of the village, and washed by the sea, which, perhaps, would have entirely demolished it before now but for a defence of large stones in front, is a pagoda of stone, containing the *lingam*, and dedicated to Siva. Besides the usual figures within, one of a gigantic stature is observed stretched out on the ground, and represented as secured in that position.† This the Brahmans tell you was designed for a Râjâ, who was thus secured by Vishnu; probably alluding to a prince of the Vishnu caste having conquered the country, and taken its prince. The surf here breaks far out over, as the Brahmans inform you, the ruins in the city, which was incredibly large and magnificent. Many of the masses of stone near the shore appear to have been wrought. A Brahman, about fifty years of age, a native of the place, whom I have had an opportunity of conversing with since my arrival at Madras, informed me his grandfather had frequently mentioned having seen the gilt tops of

[*The Dolotsava Mandapam, 'porch of the swinging festival,' where the image of the god used annually to be brought out and swung before the people.]

[† It is an image of Vishnu, in a recumbent position. The folds of his garment were apparently mistaken for fetters.—Cp. other notices, *infra*.]

five pagodas in the surf, no longer visible. In the account of this place by Mr. William Chambers, in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, we find mention of a brick pagoda, dedicated to Siva, and washed by the sea;* this is no longer visible; but as the Brahmans have no recollection of such a structure, and as Mr. Chambers wrote from memory, I am inclined to think the pagoda of stone mentioned above to be the one he means. However, it appears from good authorities that the sea on this part of the coast is encroaching by very slow, but no less certain steps, and will perhaps in a lapse of ages entirely hide these magnificent ruins.

About a mile to the southward are other structures of stone, of the same order as those north, but having been left unfinished, at first sight appear different: the southernmost of these is about forty feet in height, twenty-nine in breadth, and nearly the same in length, hewn from a single mass: the outside is covered with sculpture, (for an account of which see Inscriptions:) the next is also cut from one mass of stone, being in length about forty-nine feet, in breadth and height twenty-five, and is rent through the middle from the top to the bottom; a large fragment from one corner is observed on the ground. No account is preserved of the powerful cause which produced this destructive effect. Beside these, are three smaller structures of stone. Here is also the *simha*, or lion, very large, but, except in size, I can observe no difference from the figures of the same animal northerly. Near the *simha* is an elephant of stone about nine feet in height, and

[* See page 10, *supra*.]

large in proportion. Here, indeed, we observe the true figure and character of the animal.

The Brahman before mentioned informed me that their Purâṇas contained no account of any of the structures here described, except the stone pagodas near the sea and the pagodas of brick at the village, built by Dharmarâja and his brothers. He, however, gave me the following traditional account: That a northern prince (perhaps one of the conquerors) about one thousand years ago was desirous of having a great work executed, but the Hindu sculptors and masons refused to execute it on the terms he offered. Attempting force I suppose, they, in number about four thousand, fled with their effects from his country hither, where they resided four or five years, and in this interval executed these magnificent works. The prince at length discovering them, prevailed on them to return, which they did, leaving the works unfinished as they appear at present.*

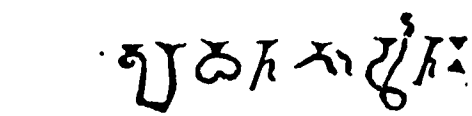
To those who know the nature of these people, this account will not appear improbable. At present we sometimes hear of all the individuals of a particular branch of trade deserting their houses, because the hand of power has treated them somewhat roughly; and we observe like circumstances continually in miniature. Why the Brahmans resident on the spot keep this account secret, I cannot determine; but am led to suppose they have an idea, the more they can envelope the place in mystery the more people will be tempted to visit and investigate, by which means they profit considerably.

[* Cp. Gubbins, *infra*.]

The difference of style in the architecture of these structures, and those on the coast hereabouts, (with exceptions to the pagodas of brick at the village, and that of stone near the sea, both mentioned in the Purà*n*as, and which are not different,) tends to prove that the artists were not of this country; and the resemblance of some of the figures and pillars to those in the Elephanta cave, seems to indicate they were from the northward.* The fragments of bricks, at the top of the rock, may be the remains of habitations raised in this place of security by the fugitives in question. Some of the inscriptions, however, (all of which were taken by myself with much care,) may throw further light on this subject.

Inscriptions at Mahabalipuram.†

On the lower Division of the Southern Structure and the Eastern Face.

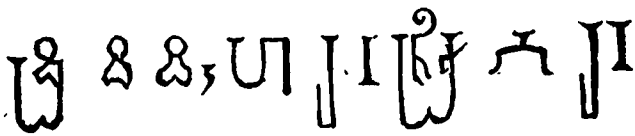


This inscription is above a figure apparently female, but with only *one* breast, (as at the cave in *Elephanta* Island.)‡ Four arms are observed; in one of the hands a battle-axe, a snake coiled up on the right side.

[* "There is nothing here of which the prototype cannot be traced in the caves of the north. In plan and design they resemble the Hindu series at Ellora, though many of their details are only to be found at Ajunta and Salsette."—Fergusson, Jour. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, p. 88.]

[† Cp. Babington, *infra*.]

[‡ Arddhanârîsa, a form of Siva, half male, half female.]

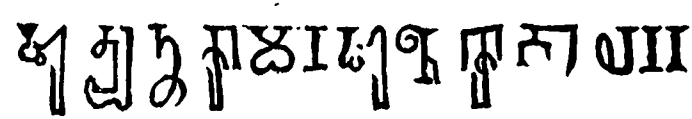


Above a male figure with four arms.

Northern Face.

Above a male figure with four arms; a battle-axe in one of the hands.

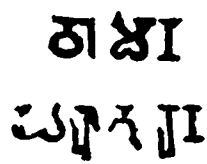
Southern Front.



Above a male figure, with four arms.

Above a male figure.

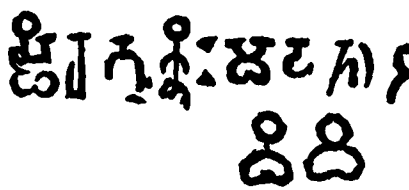
On the Middle Division, Eastern Face.



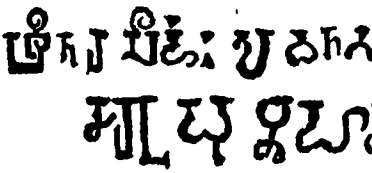
Above a male.

Above a male, bearing a weapon of war on the left shoulder.

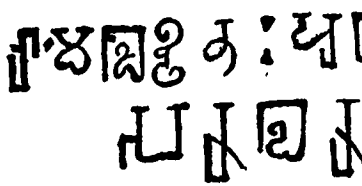
Northern Face.



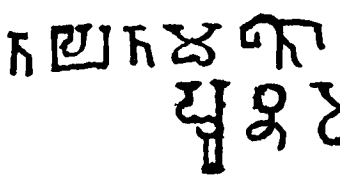
Above a male with four arms, leaning on a bull; the hair plaited, and rolled about the head; a string across the left shoulder, as the Brahmans' string of the present day.



Above two figures, male and female. The former has four arms, and the string as above; is leaning on the latter, who seems to stoop from the weight. The head of the male is covered with a high cap, while the hair of the female is in the same form, as that of the female figures at Elephanta.

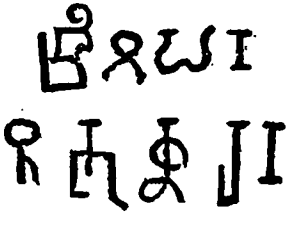


Above two figures, male and female. The former has four arms, and the string.

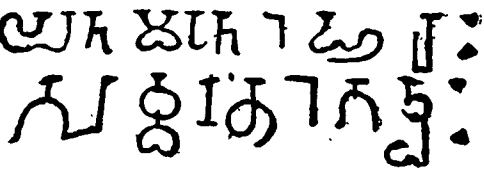


Above a male figure, with four arms, and the Brahmanical string.

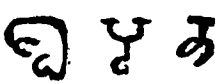
Southern Face.



Above a male figure, with four arms.



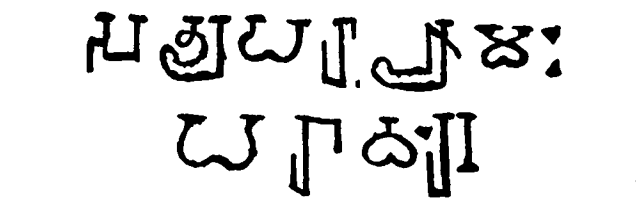
Above a male figure, with four arms, leaning on a female, seeming to stoop under the weight.



Above a male, with four arms. A sceptre appears in one hand. This inscription being very difficult to come at, is perhaps not quite correct.

Above a male figure, with four arms.

West Front.



Over a male. The string over the left shoulder, and a warlike weapon on the right.

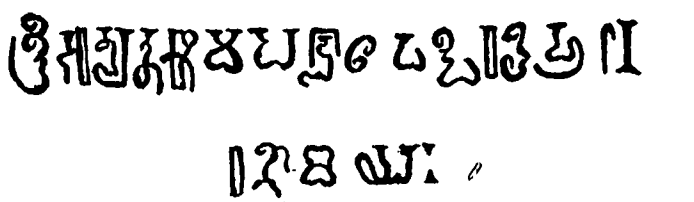
Another figure on this face, but no inscription above it.

On the Upper Division.

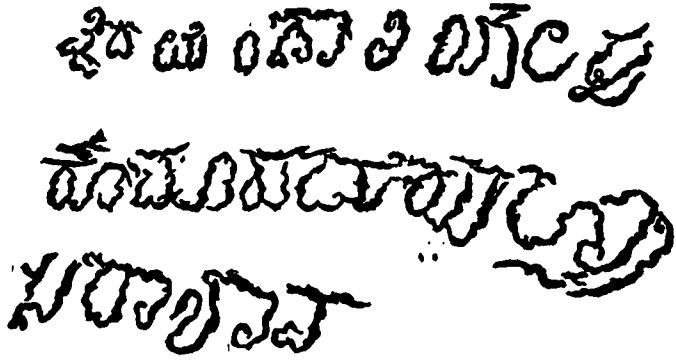
Each front of this division is ornamented with figures, different in some respects from those below: all, however, of the same family.

On the Eastern front is a male figure, (two arms only.) He has two strings or belts; one crossing the other over the shoulder.

Over him is the following inscription, the only one on this division.



The characters of this inscription bear a strong resemblance to those of the inscription in the stone pagoda, near the village mentioned in the first part of the account of the place.



This inscription* is on the pavement of the choultry near the village, very roughly cut, and apparently by different artists from those who cut the former.

[* A scrawl in the modern Telugu character.—Cp. Babington, *infra*.]

III.—*An account of the Sculptures and Inscriptions at Mahâmalaipûr; illustrated by Plates.* By Benjamin Guy Babington, M.B., F.R.S., Sec. R.A.S.

[From Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. II. 1830.]
Read July 12th, 1828.

THE remains of ancient sculpture, called by Europeans the Seven Pagodas, on the Coromandel Coast, thirty-five miles south of Madras, have long attracted the attention of those who feel an interest in Hindu Archæology; and, so long ago as the year 1788, formed the subject of a paper in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches. The author, Mr. William Chambers, wrote from memory, after an interval of twelve years from the period at which he had visited the scene which he described. His account, unaccompanied as it was by drawings or facsimiles of the inscriptions, could therefore scarcely be expected to be sufficiently minute to answer any further purpose than that avowed by himself, of exciting public attention, and "giving rise to more accurate observations, and more complete discoveries on the same subject." In the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, published in 1798, there is a more descriptive account of these temples and excavations, written by Mr. Goldingham, a gentleman of well-known talent, on whose observations, as they were recorded on the spot, we may with confidence rely.

Mrs. Graham is indeed a later writer on the subject: but her remarks are desultory, and her information imperfect, as might be expected from the opportunities presenting themselves to a casual and hasty visitor. In Bishop Heber's narrative, three pages are devoted to a notice of Mahâbalipûr. (Pages 216—218, vol. iii.) But the author merely follows the legends of the place, and evidently aims at nothing more than a record in his journal of his impressions on a cursory visit. The testimony, however, which this lamented prelate bears to the degree of skill displayed in these sculptures must, from his acknowledged taste, be looked upon as peculiarly valuable; and it is gratifying to one who has taken much interest in them to find, that he considered "some of the porticos, temples and bas-reliefs as very beautifully executed," and pronounced "the general merit of the work as superior to that of Elephanta."*

With these notices already before the public, it would be superfluous to occupy the attention of the Society with another detailed description of these monuments, and I shall therefore content myself with a reference to Mr. Goldingham's paper, as far as may be necessary to accomplish the objects which I have at present in view. These are, first, to convey a just notion of the merits of the principal sculptures, by means of drawings made on the spot by Mr. Andrew Hudleston and myself, several years since; and, secondly, to throw some light upon the inscriptions found among these temples.

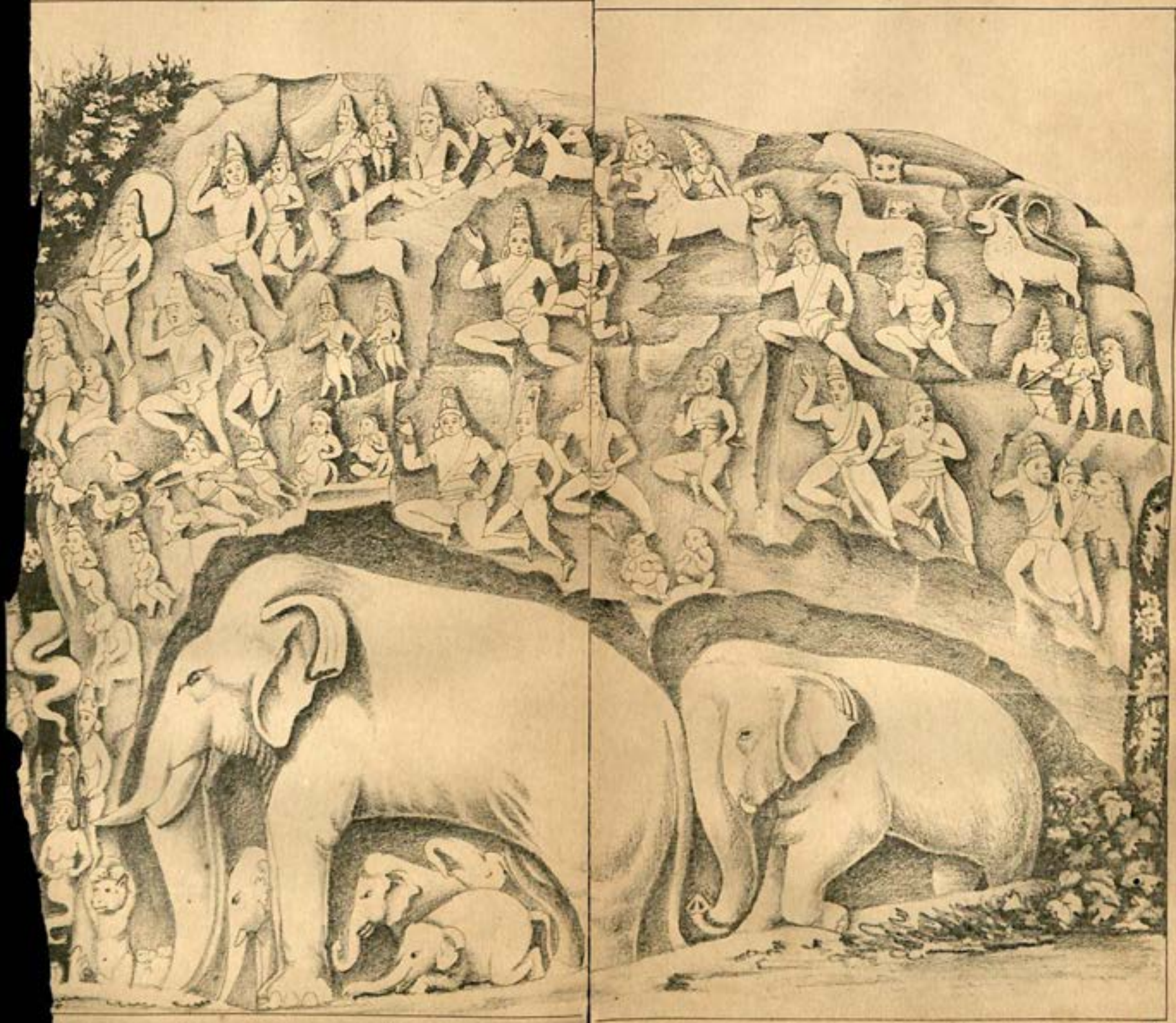
To the legendary accounts of the Brahmans at

[* Cp. Fergusson's "Rock-cut Temples of India," London, 1864. Introduction p. xiii.]

Mahâmalaipûr, which are given at such length by Mr. Chambers and Mrs. Graham, I attach little value, because I find that they have not even preserved the memory of the language and character of the inscriptions which here abound; and because this place, in being accounted the work of the five sons of Pându, only shares a tradition common to all the antiquities of unexplained origin in the south of India. So far from believing in the tales of these Brahmans, who are obviously interested in connecting wonderful stories with the remains which they gain a livelihood by shewing to strangers, I even doubt whether Mahâmalaipûr was ever, as asserted by them, the site of a great city, now partly covered by the sea; and still more, whether the gilded summit of one of the five pagodas, said to be so covered, was visible two generations ago. Several circumstances lead me to be sceptical on these points: first, the absence of all remains of buildings,* walls, mounds of rubbish, or broken pottery, such as I have invariably found surrounding the site of other ancient cities; secondly, the fruitless attempts made by the late Mr. Ellis and Colonel Mackenzie to ascertain the existence of sunken buildings by careful soundings made off the shore; thirdly, the silence of tradition on other parts of the Coromandel Coast regarding so vast an encroachment of the sea,† and consequent loss of land, as must necessarily have taken place to effect the submersion of lofty pagodas still remaining erect, and that too since the formation of the present system of

* The small ruined brick edifice on the top of the rock can hardly be considered an exception.

[† Cp. Newbold's Summary of the Geology of Southern India. Journ. R. A. S. Vol. viii. p. 250.]



INSCRIPTION IN A STONE CHOULTRY ON SOUTH SIDE OF THE ROCKS AT MAMALLAPUR.

PLATE XIV

Hindu mythology, to which the existing sculptures obviously relate; fourthly, the circumstance that the authenticity of the legend must mainly depend on the name of the place as connected with the history of Mahâbali; whereas it will be shewn, when considering the inscriptions, that Mahâbalipûr is not its ancient designation; lastly, the omission of all mention of Mahâbali in the inscriptions, and of any reference to him in the sculptures.*

Although I thus reject the account of the Brahmans on the spot, I have nothing certain to offer in its room. If a conjecture however may be hazarded regarding the origin of this place, I should be inclined to believe that its sequestered situation and the picturesque position of the rocks and caves induced certain Brahmans to obtain royal grants for founding an Agrahârat here, and that, in order to increase the sanctity of their temples, they from time to time employed stone-masons (several families of whom reside at Mahâmalaipûr, and appear to have worked the quarries of granite time immemorial) to ornament the rocks with the excavations and sculptures which we now find.

Plate I. represents the sculptured rock, which has been described by Mr. Goldingham in his second paragraph, as occupying a surface about ninety feet in extent and thirty in height, and covered with figures in bas-relief. This subject has been represented in Mrs. Graham's Journal by an etching copied from an outline belonging to Colonel Mackenzie, the inaccuracy of which will be sufficiently apparent on

[* The Asura Bali is probably represented by one of the figures in plate VI.]

[† A village granted to Brahmans.]

comparing it with my drawing, which was executed with much care and labour by my companion.

During our visit to the Seven Pagodas, we caused the earth to be removed from the lower part of this rock to its base, and thus exposed to full view some figures (see plate II., No. 1), of which the heads alone were before visible.

Not far from the rock last mentioned is the spacious chamber called the *Krishna Mandapam*, described by Mr. Goldingham in his third paragraph. Of the scene sculptured on the rock facing the entrance, Mr. Hudleston and myself made a joint drawing (see plate II., No. 2); and as this rock is going fast to decay, owing to a spring of water from above, which keeps its surface constantly wet, it is not improbable that in the course of a few years it will be entirely decomposed; it is the more desirable therefore that some record of its subject should be preserved. Several interesting particulars regarding the ancient Hindus may be gathered from this pastoral scene. The dress of the females resembles that now worn by the Neyris* and Tiyyattist of Malabar, who are uncovered above the waist. The men, it appears, wore turbans, and the women very large ear-rings, with bangles on their hands and feet. The peculiar practice of carrying the infant on the hip, which cannot fail to attract the notice of Europeans at the present day, was then in use; and even the vertical arrangement and method of tying together the three earthen vessels here represented, is recognized by all

[* Nâyar (Nair) women appear to be referred to, but the word is incorrect.]

[† Females of the Tiyyar (Tier) caste.]

N°1

N°2.

Hindu visitors as being universally adopted by the modern Gopâlas.* The execution of this work is coarse, and the design rude; and though particular parts have much merit, yet the limbs of the principal figures are clumsy and ill-proportioned, the attitudes forced, and the countenances without expression.

Greatly superior is the skill displayed by the artists employed in the excavation described by Mr. Goldingham in his fifth paragraph;† but even here, under the same roof, there is much inequality in the execution of the different subjects. The central compartment (see plate III., No. 1), and that on the left on entrance (see plate III., No. 2) are tame performances, compared with the very spirited representation of Durgâ seated on her lion, and attacking Mahishâsura, which occupies the right compartment.‡ (See plate IV.) I have no hesitation in pronouncing this to be the most animated piece of Hindu sculpture which I have ever seen; and I would venture to recommend that a cast of it should, if possible, be taken for this Society. In the meantime, a tolerably just notion may be formed of its merits from the excellent and accurate delineation of Mr. Hudleston.

The smaller temple, which Mr. Goldingham mentions as placed at a considerable elevation above that just alluded to, and wrought out of a single mass of rock, is so rich in sculpture and ornament, and occupies so picturesque and sequestered a spot, that it is surprising he should have passed it over with so slight a notice. This excavation is in form a parallelogram, open on one of the longer sides, where it is supported on two columns. It contains four large

[* Cowherds.] [† P. 32-33, *supra*.] [‡ Cp. Braddock, *infra*.]

compartments or panels of sculpture; namely, one at each end, and one on each side of the central recess opposite the entrance; besides two niches occupied by Dwârapâlas.* The Varâha Avatâra represented in plate V., is placed at the left end of the chamber. Plate VI., the subject of which seems to be some incarnation of Vishnu,† fills the compartment at the opposite end. On the right of the recess a female deity‡ appears, surmounted by an umbrella (see plate VII., No. 1); whilst on the left is a female figure§ seated on a lotus throne, and attended by damsels who bear water-pots, to be discharged in turn over her head by the elephants seen in the background (see plate VIII.) The position of the Dwârapâlas will be seen in plate VIII., No. 2. Of the columns which support the front of the excavation, as well as of the side pilasters, I have thought it worth while, on account of their beauty and singular order, to furnish drawings (plate VII., Nos. 2 and 3); while the general appearance of the cave-temple will be best understood by reference to plate IX.¶

There are several other pieces of sculpture contained in small temples among the rocks, not noticed either by Mr. Chambers or Mr. Goldingham; and of these, plate X., Nos. 1, 2, 3, are examples.

The Dolotsava Mandapam,‖ seen in the centre of the village, is remarkable for the lightness and elegance of its construction. It is of granite, and is

[* Door-keepers.]

[† The dwarf incarnation, Vâmana Avatâra.]

[‡ Bhadrakâlî, a form of Pârvatî.]

[§ Pârvatî, as Devî.—Cp. plates 30 and 33 in Moor's Hindu Pantheon.—But the Vaishnavas call the figure Gaja Lakshmî.]

[¶ The writer has omitted to mention that the ceiling is painted.]

[‖ See note * p. 34, *supra*.]

Nº 2.

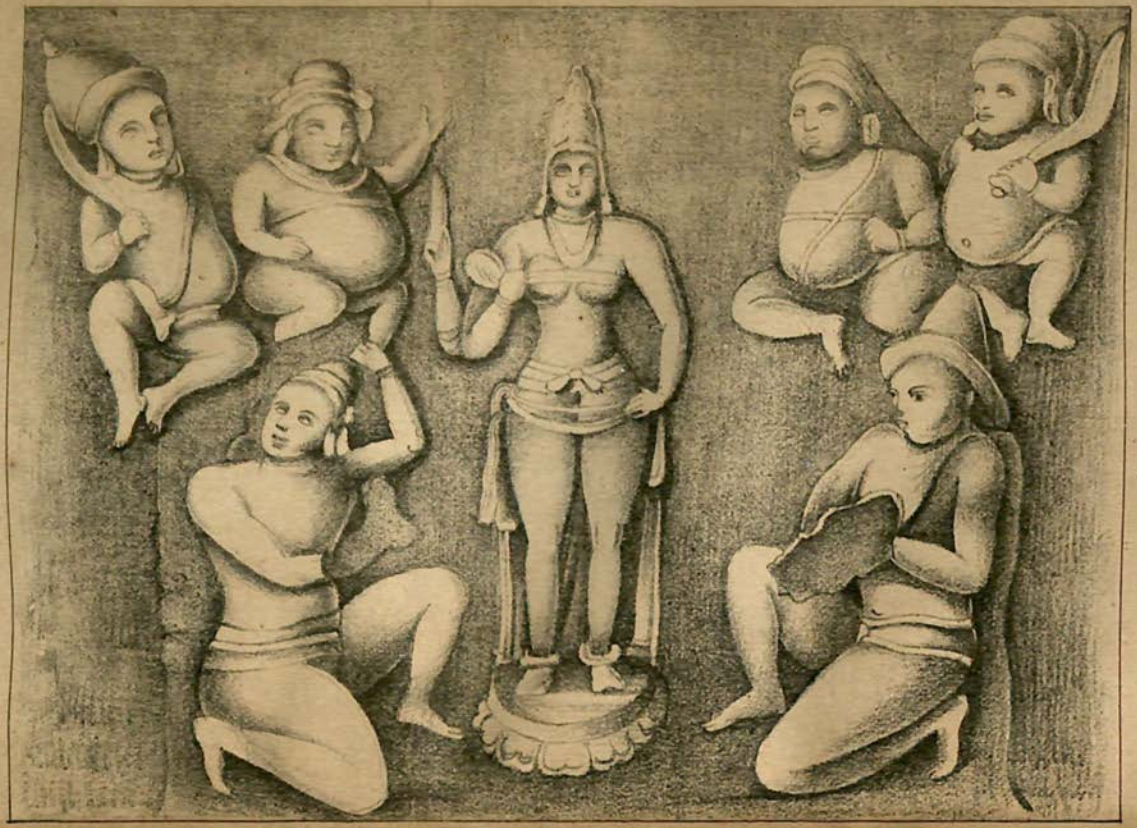
Nº 1.

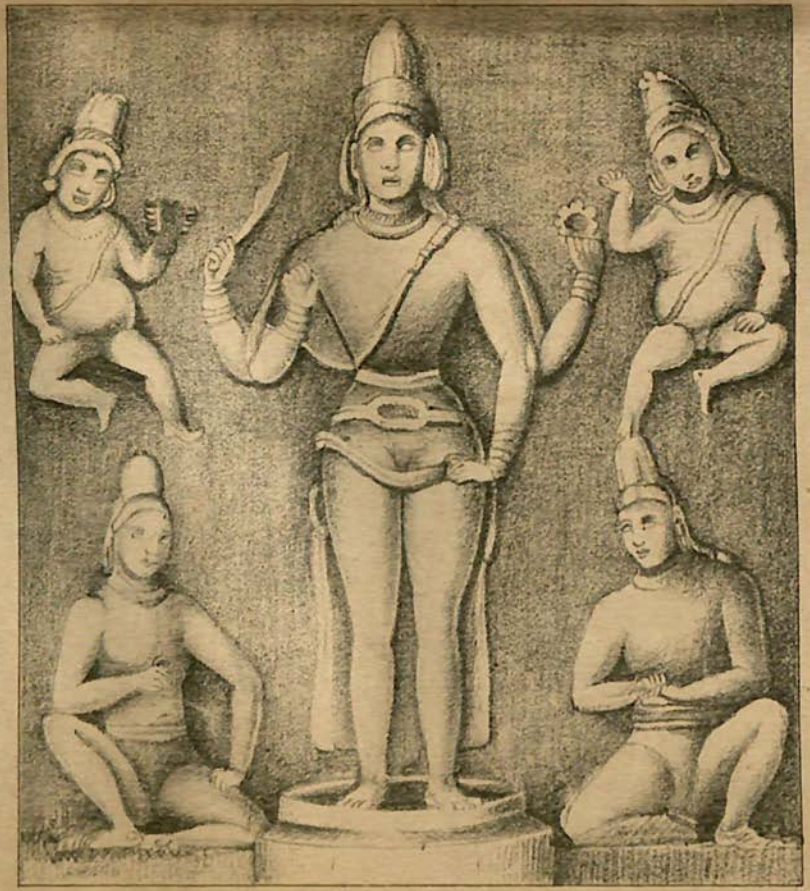
Nº 3.

SCULPTURES AT MAHÂMALAIPÛR.

Nº 1.

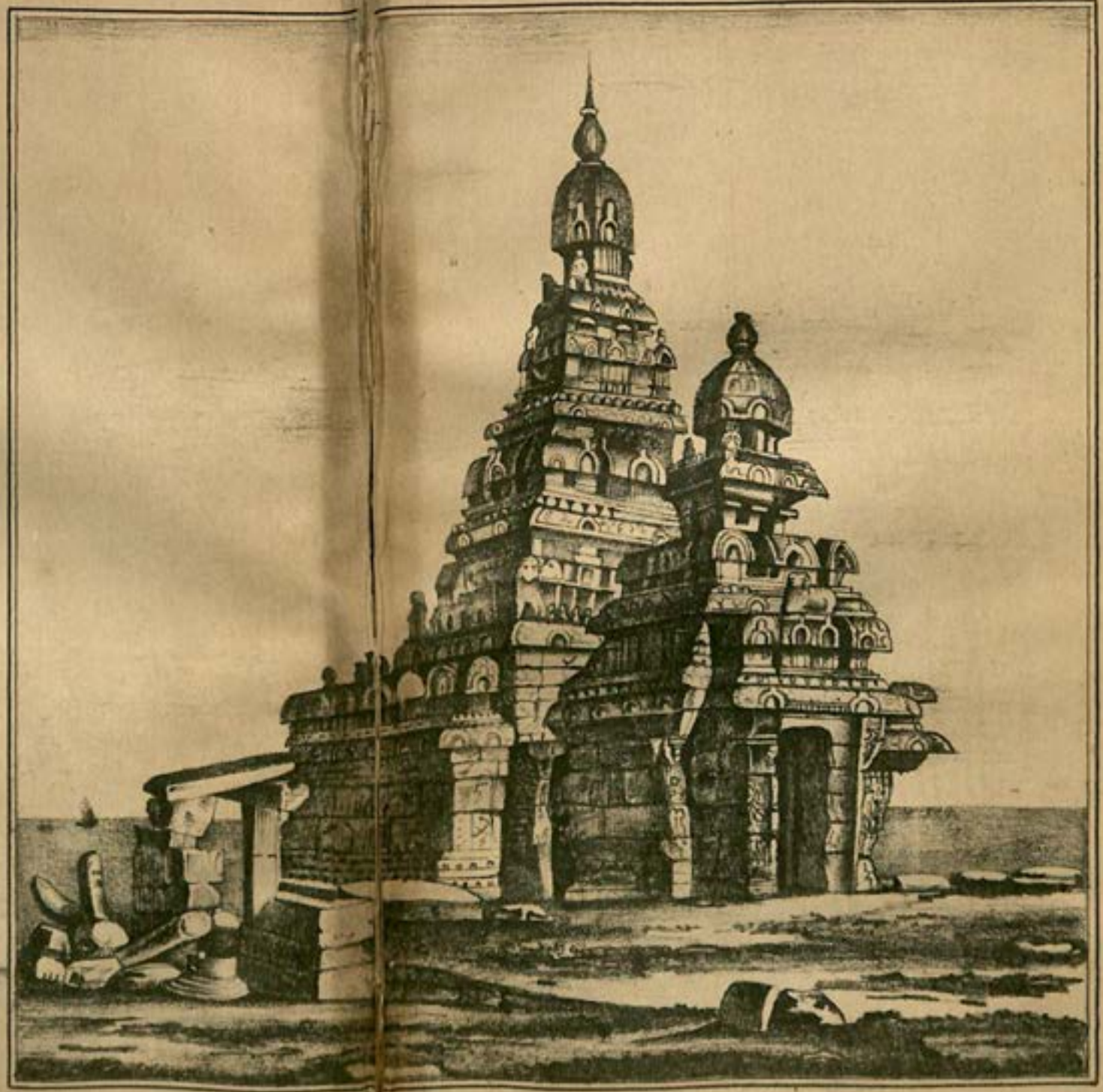
Nº 2.





N° II

N° I



supported on four columns, which rise from a platform elevated by three steps. (See plate XI., No. 1.) The shafts of the columns with the base are hewn from a single stone, and, including the capital, are twenty-seven feet in height.

The stone pagoda on the sea-shore, which serves as a land-mark for shipping, and is erroneously stated by Mr. Chambers to be built of brick,* is delineated in plate XI., No. 2; and the gigantic figure lying stretched on the floor in one of its recesses, in plate XII. At the time when this drawing was made, the figure was enclosed in a small chamber; but on a subsequent visit I found that the walls had given way, thus leaving it exposed to the open air. As a record therefore of the state of this pagoda and figure, I regard these drawings as not without value in the collection now presented to the Society; for such is the dilapidated condition of this structure, that the period cannot be far distant when it will no longer exist. The effects of the salt-water spray add much to those of time in hastening its decay.†

Whether this pagoda was dedicated to Vishnu or to Siva, I regard as doubtful: tradition favours the former supposition. At all events, the pillar which stands before it amid the spray of the sea is certainly not a *lingam*, as some suppose, but merely the *stambha* or post, which is found, I believe, fronting all Hindu temples of consideration.‡ That this pillar is now near the high-water mark is by no means a convincing

[* P. 10, *supra*.]

[† The writer greatly under-estimated the strength of this building. There is no probability of its disappearance.]

[‡ See note † p. 11, *supra*.—The Brahmans say it is a lamp-post, *Dipastambha*.]

proof that the sea has encroached here, for I see no reason why such a spot should not have been originally selected for its erection. If it be a fact, as mentioned by Bishop Heber, that the sea is receding from most other parts of the Coromandel Coast, it is difficult to conceive why it should advance in this place; such a local encroachment could only be effected by a change in the position of the land, and as the primitive rocks here appear on the surface, this cannot be admitted as a probable occurrence, unless under some violent convulsion of nature. Had the coast been of an alluvial formation at this spot, high tides might have advanced upon it with greater facility.

The five monolithic temples, situated about a mile to the southward of the village, have justly attracted the attention of all who have visited Mahâmalaipûr.

They are called on the spot रथा: *Rathas*, or sacred vehicles: but it is obvious, that they were never meant as imitations of those enormous wooden structures, which are so conspicuous in certain Hindu processions. They were probably intended to serve the purpose of temples; but bear evident marks of having been left in an unfinished state; for though highly ornamented on the outside, they have not been excavated within, being merely solid masses of sculptured granite remaining in their original positions.* For the general view of these Rathas, I would refer to Mrs. Graham's plate, which, together with Mr. Goldingham's description, will serve to

[* "The Brahmans found a group of granite boulders lying on the sea-shore, and have carved them into the form of temples, having all the appearance of structural edifices with the advantage of monolithic durability."—Fergusson, Rock-cut Temples of India. London, 1864. Intro., p. xviii.]

convey a notion of these curious remains of antiquity. Several of the basso relievo figures with which they are ornamented are represented in plate XV., and will be further noticed when I come to speak of the inscriptions which are placed over them.

OF THE INSCRIPTIONS.

Exclusively of a scrap of modern Telugu, very incorrectly designed and rudely sculptured on the floor of the *Krishna Mandapam*, and in consequence erroneously copied as ancient by Mr. Goldingham (see Asiatic Researches, vol. v. page 80),* I noticed three kinds of inscriptions at Mahâmalaipûr, two of which have hitherto remained undeciphered. It is also highly probable that three other kinds, which I shall have occasion to mention, are to be met with in this neighbourhood.

First. An ancient Tamil inscription is seen on a face of rock by the side of the inner entrance to the Varâhasvâmî pagoda, which is still in use. This would be legible throughout, were it not that a wall, which projects from the rock, cuts off a considerable portion of each line; on this account I did not consider it worth while to take a copy.† From what remains visible, it is certain that the inscription records a grant to the Varâhasvâmî pagoda of a quantity of land, the boundaries of which are very minutely defined, both as respects the property of others, and the cardinal points. The act of donation is attested by numerous witnesses, and the name of the donor is also mentioned. A perfect copy of this inscription might easily be made, if the wall which I have noticed were removed; and as the

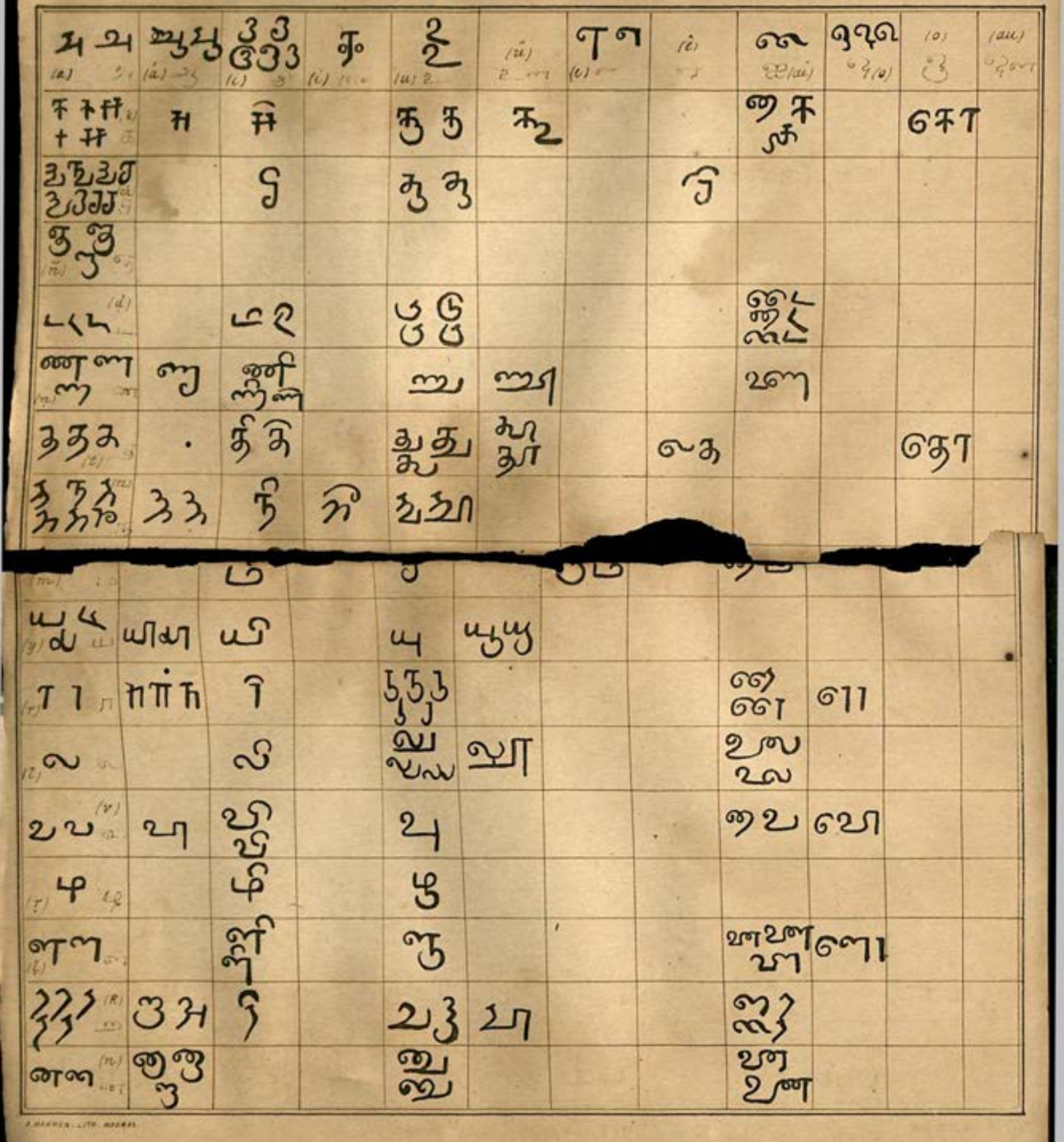
[* P. 43, *supra*.] [† Cp. Sir Walter Elliot's copy, *infra*.]

date might possibly thus be ascertained, I would suggest that the Madras Literary Society be recommended to take measures for effecting this object. In order to facilitate the task of deciphering this and similar records, I have drawn out an alphabet (see plate XIII.) from a careful collation of several ancient Tamil inscriptions.*

As it seems probable, from a passage in another ancient inscription hereafter noticed, that Mahâmalaipûr was a Siva-sthala, I am inclined to consider the Varâhasvâmî pagoda as quite distinct, and probably of a different era from the antiquities,

* The changes which time has produced are in some letters very great; and where characters are so simple as those of the Tamil language, even slight alterations in form give rise to perplexity. I may adduce, as an example, the letter *ka*, the most ancient form of which was a Latin cross ✝. In the course of time a top was added to the left side, and the cross bar was curved thus 𑀏. The next alteration was in the addition of a perpendicular line falling from the left extremity of the top 𑀏. The top was then extended to the right 𑀏, and by prolonging the extremities of the curved line, the modern letter க has at length been formed, or in a still more complicated manner as in the Grantha thus 𑌕. In its modern form க it might easily be confounded with the ந which, though it now has a tail, was anciently written without one, thus ந. Other examples might be given, but they suggest themselves on an inspection of the alphabet itself.

I cannot touch on the subject of ancient Tamil characters without remarking, that their extreme simplicity seems one among many circumstances, which indicate that the language is of very high antiquity. The Sanscrit of the south of India is written in characters (the Grantha) derived from the Tamil, but they are much more complicated, and therefore probably posterior in point of antiquity. The peculiar structure of the Tamil language, wholly dissimilar from the Sanscrit, its deficiency in aspirated consonants, its



properly so called, which belong to this place. The difference of language in the inscription, and the circumstance that the pagoda is a built structure projecting from the face of the rock, and not an excavation, increase the probability of this conclusion. It is not unlikely, however, that there may exist in the sanctuary a subordinate sculpture representing the Varâha Avatâra like that of *Krishna* and the Gopâlas in the *Krishna Mandapam*, and of equally ancient date, and that a roof and walls may have been thrown out from this rock, and a temple thus formed.* The Brahmans on the spot did not permit me to enter the sanctuary to ascertain this point.

Throughout this Tamil inscription the place is called Mahâmalaipûr, which signifies the city of the great mountain, evidently with reference to the rocky eminence in the vicinity. This indeed cannot be called a great mountain on account of its size: but the word *mahâ* may refer to greatness of sanctity, or renown, with equal propriety.

To designate the village Mahâbalipuram, the native name at the present day, is therefore an error, which has led to the assumption that this was the capital of that renowned giant Mahâ Bali, whose kingdom, if it ever actually existed, was on the

possession of letters and sounds not found in Sanscrit, its division into dialects, one of which contains but few words of Sanscrit derivation; and lastly, its locality at the southern extremity of India, would seem likewise to indicate an independent origin, and one of at least equal antiquity with the Sanscrit itself; but this is a subject foreign to that now under consideration, and deserving a more lengthened discussion than the limits of a note will allow.

[* This supposition is correct; a temple has been built round an ancient sculpture on the face of the rock, representing the Varâha Avatâra.]

N° 1

N° 2

THE SAME IN MODERN GRANTHA AND DEVANAGARI

western coast of India, where he is still honoured by an annual festival.

A second kind of character found at Mahâmalaipûr is in a small monolithic pagoda,* now dedicated to Ganesa,† and situated on the north side of the hill. It is contained in an inscription (see plate XIV.) of considerable length, but is so faintly cut, and on such rough granite, that the fac-simile which I have furnished, however imperfect, cost me several days' labour to trace.‡ One of the Jain Brahmans, in the employ of Colonel Mackenzie, had such a knowledge of ancient characters somewhat similar to

* Mrs. Graham gives an engraving of this small pagoda, which she says is called the Tîr of Arjuna, and she explains the word Tîr (properly *Têr*), to mean a place of religious retirement. The explanation is erroneous, as the word Têr signifies, in Tamil, a car or sacred vehicle, corresponding with the Sanscrit *Ratha*.

† When Mr. Goldingham wrote his account, this pagoda contained a *lingam* (see his first paragraph [p. 30 *supra*]), so that it has passed from the Saivas into the possession of the Vaishnavas since that period.§ Brahman families of both sects reside on the spot.

‡ In this character there are two forms of affix for long *â*, used indifferently as convenience may suggest. Thus, in the first stanza, we find the syllable (का) *kâ* in the word *kâranam* (कारणं) made thus ; while in the eighth stanza the same syllable in the word *kâma* (काम) is made thus . The letters *p* (प), and *s* (स) seem similar in form; but perhaps some slight difference may have escaped my observation. In modern Grantha, an inflection in the middle of the character makes the difference between *s* and *p*, thus , . So also in the ancient character, the inflection may have been greater in the *s* than in the *p*, thus and ; but I have not upon this supposition felt authorized to depart from the copy which I made on the spot.

[§ An old Vaishnava Brahman tells a different tale: he states that the Lingam was taken away, (with an image of Hanumân,) by Lord

this, that on visiting the spot with me, he succeeded in deciphering a great part of this inscription, the language of which is Sanscrit. The following is a translation of the ten slokas which were intelligible, while about two verses at the end were left undeciphered :—

1. May the cause of creation, existence, and destruction, which is itself without cause, the destroyer of Manmatha (desire), be propitious to the desires of the world.
2. May he who is united with Umâ, of many kinds of illusion, without quality, the destroyer of evil dispositions, of incorruptible wealth, the Lord of Kubera, be counted excellent.
3. May that deity (Siva) protect us all, who is the seat of prosperity, and by whose means Kailâsa disappeared and descended to Pâtâla, yielding by its weight, which he caused on account of its being with (supported by) the ten-faced (Râvana).
4. May he who bears Siva in his mind engrossed by devotion, and the earth on his shoulders, with as much ease as if it were an ornament, long prevail.
5. By that king of satisfied wishes, with crowds of conquered enemies, who is known by the name of Jayarana Stambha, this building was made.

Hobart (?) and sent to England, Lady H. giving 20 pagodas to the villagers as a consideration! Lord Hobart was Governor of Madras from Sept. 1794 to February 1798. Mr. Goldingham's account was *published* in the latter year.]

6. May that fear-inspiring, good-giving, desire-destroying *Siva*, to whom the earth, space, the moon, fire, the sun, &c., are a body, be victorious.

7. The good-faced among nations (the beauty of the world) sprung from a mother bringing forth heroes, remains without doubt in a place of lotuses, full of sacred waters, and is adorned with all sorts of precious stones.

8 and 9. *Siva*, the beautiful, sits in the broad lake Siras which teems with (*lit.* is a mine of) lotuses resembling variegated gems, and is full of water for sprinkling the fortunate and much-loved Kâmarâja, who puts down the pride of his enemies, who is the source (receptacle) of glory, and is earnest in worshipping *Siva*.

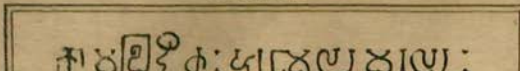
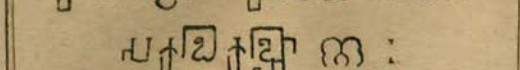
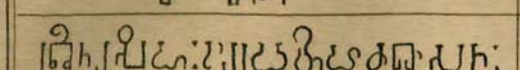
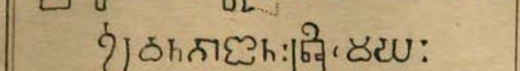
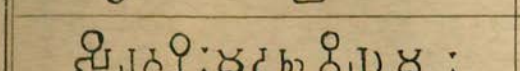
10. He (Kâmarâja) who dwells on the heads of kings, caused this temple of *Siva*, which resembles the temple on Kailâsa, to be erected for the happiness of the earth.*

I have lately received from Madras two ancient inscriptions purporting to be from the neighbourhood of Mahâmalaipûr, and two also have been kindly furnished me by Colonel De Havilland. Of these four, two appear to be identical, which reduces the number to three. Their precise localities I have not the means of knowing, with the exception of one, entitled by Colonel De Havilland, "Sanscrit inscription engraven on the north side of the verandah of a pagoda excavated out of the solid granite, two miles north of Mahâbalipuram." All

[* See Appendix.]

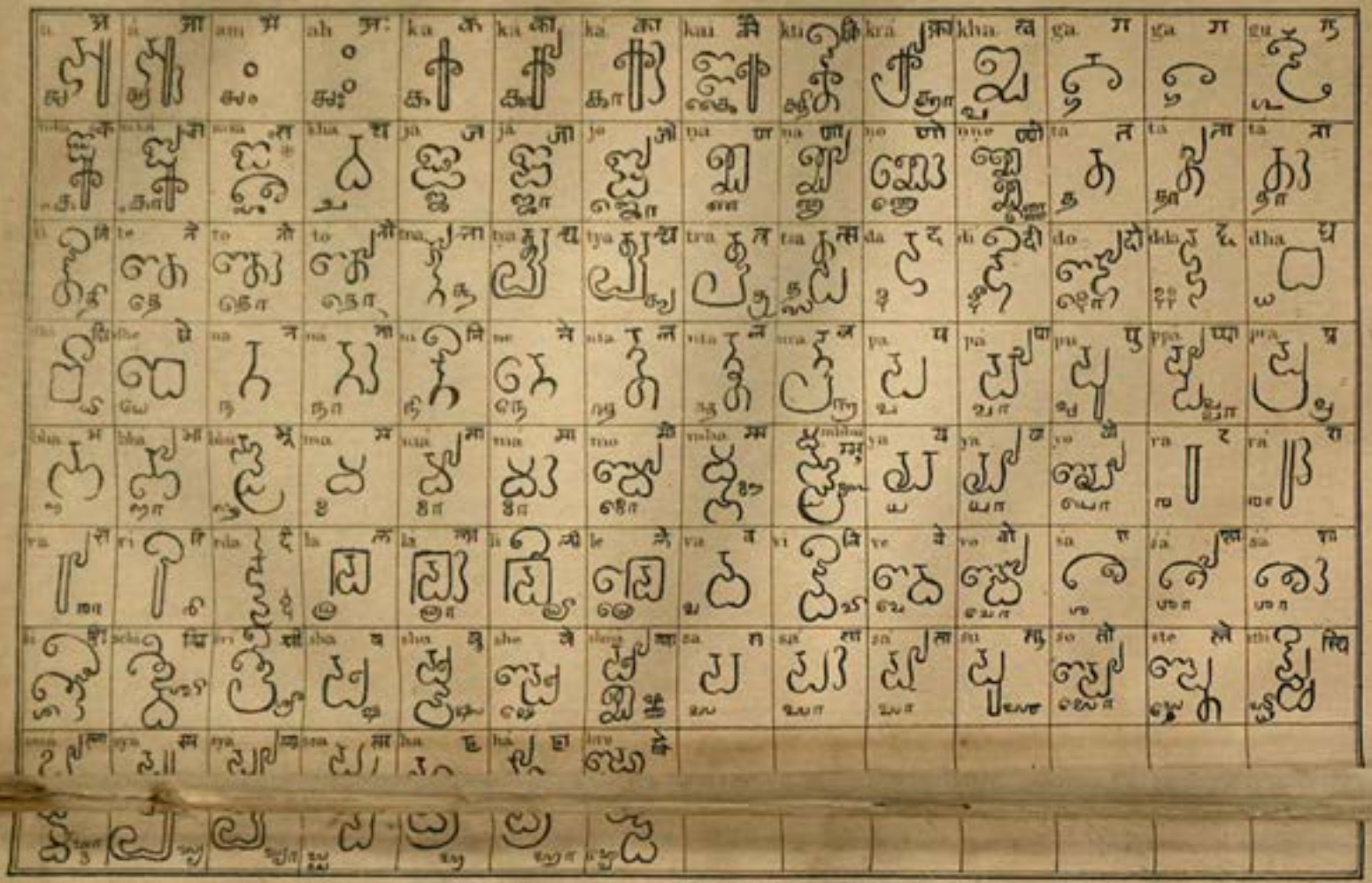
FIGURES SCULPTURED ON ONE OF THE RATHAS — MAHAMALAIPUR.

FIGURES SCULPTURED ON ANOTHER RATHA

ORIGINAL	THE SAME IN DEVANÂGARÎ	ENGLISH TRANSLATION.
	कामलळितःअमेयमायः सकलकल्याणः	*Dallying as Kâma - of incomprehensible delusion* *The all fortunate*
	श्रीनरसिंहःअप्रतिहतशासनः भुवनभाजनः श्रीमेघः	*The holy Man Lion - of irresistible authority* *The Mundane Vessel - The sacred cloud*
	स्थिरभक्तिः मदनाभिरामः विधि	*The firm in faith - The beautiful as Kâma - Deva* *The Agent - (a name of Vishṇu.)*
	विभ्रान्तः विधिः	*The confused.* *The Agent.*
	श्रीनिधिः निरुत्तरः	*The abode of Prosperity.* *The unanswerable.*

ಲಲಿತ	ललित	The Lovely.
ಸತ್ಯಪರಾಕ್ರಮ:	सत्यपराक्रम:	The truly valorous.
ಶ್ರೀನರಸಿಂಹ:	श्री नरसिंह:	The holy Man Lion (Vishnu's 4th Avatár.)
ಭಾರಭೃತ್ಕೃಚ್ಛ್ರಶ್ರೀಭರ:	? ? ? भार: श्रीभर:	? ? ? Bhárah - (a name of Vishnu) the sacred cherisher.
ಭುವನಭಾಜನ:	भुवनभाजन:	The Mundane Vessel.
ಪರಾವರ:	परावर:	The Lord - (a word in use in the South of India.)
ಭಯಾನುರ್	भयानुर् ?	The terrible destroyer.
ವಾಮ:	वाम:	The crooked - (a name of Śiva.)
ಅತಿಮಾನ:	अतिमान:	The unmeasured.
ಶ್ರೀಅಶ್ವತ್ಥಾಮಪದ್ಮವೇಶ್ವರವಿಲಾಸಭೋಜಯ:	श्री अश्वत्थामपद्मवेश्वर विलासभोजय:	The happy Bhojargah ? - of excessive lust - Lord of Love moving sportively.

CHARACTERS OF THE ANCIENT INSCRIPTION IN THE GANESA PAGODA AT MAHAMALAIPUR,
WITH THE CORRESPONDING CHARACTERS IN ROMAN, DEVANAGARI AND GRANTHA.



CHARACTERS OF THE ANCIENT INSCRIPTIONS OVER THE BAS-RELIEF FIGURES ON THE RATHAS AT MAHAMALAIPUR,
WITH THE CORRESPONDING CHARACTERS IN ROMAN, DEVANAGARI, AND GRANTHA.

these inscriptions differ in character from each other, but agree precisely in matter; and it is remarkable that the *slokas* of which they are composed are, with the exception of the last, contained, though in different order, in the inscription copied by me from the wall of the Ganesa pagoda and of which a translation has just been furnished. To state this more in detail, my inscription, which, it is to be observed, is in a character differing again from any of the rest, consists of ten *slokas* deciphered, besides as much as would probably make two *slokas* more remaining undeciphered. The other inscriptions consist of five *slokas* only, with some undeciphered portions, with which I have not thought it worth while to encumber the plate; the first four being in the metre called anushtubh, the last in a variety of the metre called vaitâlîya.

The first three *slokas* in my inscription are not found in the others; my fourth *sloka* is the same as theirs. The fifth, sixth, and seventh *slokas* of my inscription are wanting in the others. My eighth and ninth *slokas* are their first and second, and my tenth is their third. Their fifth *sloka* I have ascertained, after a very careful comparison, to be quite different from the remaining undeciphered portion of my inscription. Its translation is as follows: "Atiranachanda (he who in battle is very furious), Lord of Kings, built this place called Atiranachandesvara. May Siva, the beloved, accompanied by the daughter (Pârvatî) of the snowy mountain, by Kârtikeya, and their suite of deities, be present in it for ever."

These inscriptions are peculiarly valuable, as giving us at once four different kinds of Sanscrit

writing, whereof two (plate XIV. and plate XV., No. 1.) are, in my opinion, ancient forms of the Grantha, or that character in which Sanscrit is invariably written in the south of India, and in which alone I was able to procure books for study at Madras. The other two will probably be considered as species of ancient Devanâgarî. (See plate XV., Nos. 2 and 3.)

This variety of character, with identity of matter, leads me to think it probable that the inscription itself was a kind of general proclamation sculptured in different places, and modified, as in my inscription, to render it applicable to local circumstances. Whether it will throw light upon the history of Mahâmalaipûr, containing as it does the name of the sovereign who founded the temples to which it has been affixed, is a question which I must leave to be examined by those who have studied the ancient dynasties of the south of India.

A third kind of character at Mahâmalaipûr, or a sixth kind, if we reckon those received from Madras and from Colonel De Havilland, is to be found in the inscriptions over the basso-relievo figures which ornament the monolithic pagodas already mentioned as situated to the southward of the village, and of which several are represented in plate XVI. Neither the Jain Brahman employed by Colonel Mackenzie, nor any other native of India who had seen these inscriptions, was able to decipher them, or to offer any conjecture as to the language in which they were written; and even the learned Mr. Ellis, after repeated visits to this place, was equally unsuccessful in his endeavours. Mrs. Graham, indeed, states that Colonel Mackenzie had found a Brah-

man who read the character so as to pronounce the sounds, but did not understand the language they express. Whether any person did actually thus impose on that gentleman, or whether Mrs. Graham has confounded these inscriptions with the last, I cannot determine, but it is quite certain that, if any person had been able to decipher the character, he would, without any difficulty, have discovered the language to be Sanscrit. It was by assuming this to be the case, that I succeeded in deciphering these inscriptions.*

I beg now to lay them before the Society, together with a transcript in Devanâgarî, and a translation. (See plate XVII.)

It is to be regretted that these inscriptions, instead of containing general information respecting the origin or date of the sculptures, are merely epithets applicable to the figures over which they are placed. At the same time we should remember that their brevity and position, having led to the assumption that they were names of deities, thus rendered the task of deciphering them somewhat less difficult. Unimportant as they are in themselves, a knowledge of them may lead to the acquirement of useful or curious information to be drawn from other sources, and I trust that the Society will indulgently consider the utility of this research, not

* There is one instance, as will be seen on a reference to plate XVII., in which the characters are of the same kind as those in the inscription of the Ganesa pagoda, a proof that both were in use at the same period. It is probable therefore that one was the round, and the other the square form, analogous to the two varieties of Pâli and Ariyam.†

[† Âryam is the round, modern Malayâlam character.]

so much with reference to the information actually obtained, as to its general subserviency to the purposes of history.

There are certainly no historical monuments in India more decidedly authentic than the copper and stone inscriptions found in such abundance in many parts of the country, and it is advancing one step to have determined that these, however different the characters in which they are sculptured from those in use at the present day, are all in the Sanscrit language, in which so little change has taken place in the lapse of ages, that, when once we have succeeded in the task of deciphering, all difficulty is at an end, and the record of a remote antiquity is placed intelligibly before us.

These inscriptions, and those at Kenerah in the island of Salsette, one of which, with the modern Sanscrit, and a translation, I laid before the Society on a late occasion, are perhaps the most ancient, at least the most dissimilar from characters at present in use, which I have met with; and I think myself therefore warranted in concluding that there are no inscriptions of Hindu origin to be found in India which may not, by attentive study, be deciphered, and by the assistance of learned natives, afterwards interpreted.

With a view to rendering the characters of these deciphered inscriptions generally applicable, I have added two tables (plate XVIII.): the one containing all the characters found in the inscription in the Ganesa pagoda; the other, those met with over the basso-relievo figures on the Rathas.

IV.—*A Guide to the Sculptures, Excavations, and other remarkable objects at Mâmallaipûr, generally known to Europeans as "the Seven Pagodas," by the late* Lieutenant JOHN BRADDOCK, *of the Madras Establishment. To which are added some Archæological Notes, by the* Reverend WILLIAM TAYLOR, *and a Supplementary account of the remains at Sâluvan Kuppam, by* WALTER ELLIOT, ESQ.,* *of the Madras Civil Service.—Communicated by the* Reverend GEORGE WILLIAM MAHON, A.M., *Garrison Chaplain, Fort St. George.*

[From the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XIII. 1844.]

IN the month of June 1840, I accompanied a small party of friends on a visit to the remarkable remains at Mâmallaipûr. As our excursion, from its necessary brevity, was likely to prove one of amusement rather than of antiquarian research, and the large quartos of the Asiatic Society are somewhat cumbrous, we borrowed from our friend Mr. Braddock a little pamphlet published by him some years before, which at once served as a guide to what was worth seeing, and explained to such of us as were but slightly acquainted with Hindu Mythology, the subjects and allusions of the various sculptures.

[* Now Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I.]

On our return I expressed to Mr. Braddock a desire that he should undertake a fuller account of the place, and suggested that it should combine the useful and entertaining properties of a Guide Book with the more important lucubrations of the scholar. As topics for the latter I named a more satisfactory account of the Inscriptions, and some information, if obtainable, as to the history of Mâmallaipûr and the origin of the excavations and sculptures. With his habitual modesty he seemed to doubt his competency to deal with the latter subjects, but promised to revise and dilate his former paper. I then suggested that he should solicit the assistance of his old and valued friend, the Rev. W. Taylor, in ascertaining something of the history of the place. This gentleman, so well known as an accomplished oriental linguist, having been recently engaged in the examination of the Mackenzie MSS., might, I thought, have discovered amongst them some information tending to throw light on so interesting a subject. Mr. Taylor, it will be seen, has responded with equal good feeling and ability to the request so made to him; and his notes, appended to Mr. Braddock's paper, must be considered as a most valuable addition to it.

As Mr. Braddock proceeded with his work he forwarded the rough sheets for my perusal, with a request that I should suggest any alterations which my more recent visit to the place might enable me to do. The paper was scarcely completed, no time had been granted for revision, I had not even seen its concluding sheets, when the amiable and talented writer was hurried away by one of those rapid attacks which disease sometimes makes on European

constitutions in this climate: and I was called on, all but unexpectedly, to perform the last sad offices for one whom I had so recently seen usefully and actively employed. A marble tablet erected in the Church at Vepery by public subscription, serves to perpetuate the memory of this worthy man; and at the same time to evince the general sense of his Christian virtues, of his scientific acquirements, and of his constant readiness to employ them for the public good.

Some months after Mr. Braddock's death, I was requested by his family to revise and prepare for publication his papers on Mâmallaipûr; a task which I have undertaken not without great diffidence. Had my lamented friend survived, he would, I doubt not, have made many emendations in them, which cannot on many accounts be done by another hand.

It will be seen that neither Mr. Braddock nor Mr. Taylor has treated of the *Inscriptions* at Mâmallaipûr, otherwise than incidentally. Those who wish for some account of them, may be referred to the valuable article by Dr. Babington in the 2nd Volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. He says that he noticed three kinds of inscriptions at "Mâhâmalaipûr," two of which have remained undeciphered, and that it is highly probable that there are other kinds to be met with in the neighbourhood. The first he alludes to is an ancient Tamil inscription on a face of rock, by the side of the inner entrance to the Varâhasvâmî pagoda (No. 29 in the Map.)* He gives no copy of it, but states that "it records

[* Plate XX.]

a grant to the Varâhasvâmî pagoda of a quantity of land."* The language of this inscription renders it doubtful whether it is of earlier or later date than some of the others, which are in Sanscrit. Dr. Babington says that throughout this Tamil inscription the place is called "Mahâmalaipûr," which he translates "city of the great mountain," adding that the word Mahâ may imply "greatness of sanctity or renown." This if correct might be adduced as proof of the more recent age of the inscription; for the hill is by no means remarkable, otherwise than for the "sanctity or renown" which the sculptures may have procured for it. It will be seen, however, that the Rev. W. Taylor speaks of two inscriptions, in which the place is called Mâmallaipûr, with two *l*'s, and if this orthography is correct, which he seems to think it is, the translation of Dr. Babington is of course overthrown, since *mallai* does not mean "hill." The present name of the place in common use appears to be Mâvalavaram, and not Mahâbalipuram, as some have stated. The latter mistake can scarcely be regretted, however, by those who have perused the pleasing fiction which the poetical talent of Southey has embodied in his "Curse of Kehama."

The second kind of inscription mentioned by Dr. Babington appears in the temple dedicated to Ganesa, situated near the north end of the hill, and described in its order by Mr. Braddock. By the assistance of his Jain Brahman in deciphering the characters, Dr. Babington was enabled to translate this inscription; and as it appears that much of the substance of it is repeated in some other inscriptions which he

[* Vide Sir Walter Elliot's translation of this inscription, *infra*.]

subsequently examined, it may prove interesting to copy his translation in this place. It consists of ten slokas deciphered, and there remains undeciphered about as much as would make two slokas more.

Translation by Dr. Babington and his Jain Brahman of the ten first slokas in the Sanscrit Inscription found in the Ganesa Pagoda at Mâmallaipûr.

"1. May the cause of creation, existence, and destruction, which is "itself without cause, the destroyer of Manmatha *(desire)* be propi- "tious to the desires of the world.

"2. May he who is united with Umâ, of many kinds of illusion, "without quality, the destroyer of evil dispositions, of incorruptible "wealth, the Lord of Kubera, be counted excellent.

"3. May that deity (*Siva*) protect us all, who is the seat of pros- "perity, and by whose means Kailâsa disappeared and descended to "Pâtâla, yielding by its weight, which he caused on account of its "being with *(supported by)* the ten-faced (Râvana).

"4. May he who bears Siva in his mind engrossed by devotion, "and the earth on his shoulders, with as much ease as if it were an "ornament, long prevail.

"5. By that king of satisfied wishes, with crowds of conquered "enemies, who is known by the name of Jayarama Stambha, this "building was made.

"6. May that fear-inspiring, good-giving, desire-destroying *Siva*, "to whom the earth, space, moon, fire, the sun, &c., are a body, be "victorious.

"7. The good-faced among nations *(the beauty of the world)* sprung "from a mother bringing forth heroes, remains without doubt in a "place of lotuses, full of sacred waters, and is adorned with all sorts "of precious stones.

"8 and 9. *Siva* the beautiful, sits in the broad lake Siras, which "teems with *(is a mine of)* lotuses, resembling variegated gems, and "is full of water for sprinkling the fortunate and much-loved "Kâmarâja, who puts down the pride of his enemies, who is the "source *(receptacle)* of glory, and is earnest in worshipping *Siva*.

"10. He (Kâmarâja,) who dwells on the heads of Kings, caused "this temple of *Siva*, which resembles the temple on Kailâsa, to be "erected for the happiness of the earth."

Three additional inscriptions were sent to Dr. Babington by some Madras friends; one by Colonel

De Havilland from the "north side of a verandah of "a pagoda (No. 30 in the Map)* excavated out of the "solid granite, two miles north of the place." Of these Dr. Babington says, "all these inscriptions "differ in character from each other, but agree pre- "cisely in matter; and it is remarkable that the "slokas of which they are composed, are, with the "exception of the last, contained, though in different "order, in the inscription copied by me from the wall "of the Ganesa pagoda. My inscription is in a "character differing again from any of the rest. "The other inscriptions consist of five slokas only, "with some undeciphered portions. The first "three slokas in my inscription are not found in the "others; my fourth sloka is the same as theirs. The "fifth, sixth, and seventh slokas of my inscription are "wanting in the others. My eighth and ninth slokas "are their first and second, and my tenth is their "third. Their fifth sloka I have ascertained after a "very careful comparison, to be quite different from "the undeciphered portion of my inscription. Its "translation is as follows:—

"Atiranachanda *(he who in battle is very furious)* Lord of Kings "built this place, called Atiranachandesvara. May Siva the beloved, "accompanied by the daughter (Pârvatî) of the snowy mountain, by "Kârtikeya, and their suite of deities, be present in it for ever."

The third kind of inscription is found over the figures on the monolithic temples to the south of the village. So completely have these characters become obsolete, that none of the learned natives consulted were able to decipher them. After considerable trouble, Dr. Babington himself succeeded in doing so.

It might reasonably have been expected that these

[* Plate XXI.]

inscriptions would have thrown some light on the origin or probable age of the sculptures, excavations, and themselves. They afford no very precise information at all. The appellations given to the prince or princes who "caused the erections," are mere epithets, by which no individual can with certainty be identified, (vide Mr. Taylor's note *d*); and were it possible to do this, the chronology must still be in a very great degree theoretical. I perfectly agree in opinion with Mr. Taylor that there is little in the sculptures themselves, if we except the Rathas, the Varâhasvâmî Pagoda, the Ganesa temple and the temple at *Sâl*uvan Kuppam, to justify the supposition of their very great antiquity. Most of them are in the most perfect preservation, and present a freshness of appearance which creates an involuntary idea of their almost recent execution. The subjects of the sculptures too are an evidence that they are not of very remote antiquity. They are representations of various personages and incidents in Hindu mythology, and are chiefly borrowed from the famous poem, the Mahâbhârata. This and the language of the inscriptions, which is Sanscrit, or Tamil with Sanscrit derivatives, mark the presence of the Brahmanical Faith. Now it appears from Mr. Taylor's researches, that previous to the seventh century of the Christian era, the whole of the district in which Mâmallaipor stands was occupied by the Kurumbas, a half civilized people of the Jaina religion; and it was about that period or probably later that, under the auspices of Adon*dai*, a prince whose capitals were Conjeveram and Tripati,* the Brahmans were intro-

[* *Prop.* Kâñchîpuram, Tirupati.]

duced into this part of the country. The extent of the works, and the labor and expense bestowed on them seem to indicate a long established Brahmanical influence; and it will be seen from Mr. Taylor's note (*c*) that an historical paper amongst the Mackenzie MSS. affords grounds for supposing that at least some of these excavations, &c., were executed so lately as the seventeenth century by a prince denominated Simhamanâyudu. The supplementary paper by Walter Elliot, Esq., relating to the remains at Sâluvan Kuppam, serves to suggest a much earlier date than the latter for certain of these remarkable productions which he therein specifies.

Works of this nature have been executed in all parts of the world during the earlier stages of civilization. Rocky caves formed by nature offer a congenial shelter for the gloomy rites of a dark superstition, a ready defence from the attacks of enemies or the inclemency of the weather, and supplied appropriate receptacles for the remains of the dead. In the most ancient times the Holy Scriptures speak of caves as places of residence and refuge, as well as of sepulture. Many of these natural recesses were greatly enlarged and rendered more commodious or better adapted for the purposes of shelter and defence by human labor and art. This may still be traced in several countries of the East. Maundrell has described a cave near Sidon, whose sides contain two hundred smaller caverns. Sir R. K. Porter has given an interesting account of a cavern or labyrinth in the mountain of Kerefto, in Eastern Kurdistan. Similar excavations are found according to the same authority at Maraga in Media; in the mountains near the lake Sivan, and near the site of Artaxata,

the ancient capital of Armenia. The sepulchral caves of Egypt have been admirably illustrated by Belzoni. Sir Alexander Burnes has given an interesting account of the sculptures and caves at Bameean. Those at Elephanta and Ellora are well known in India: and such as are interested in these remarkable records of past times should not overlook the description and beautiful sketches of Petra by Laborde. Amongst the savages of North-Western Australia, Captain Gray has discovered sculptured rocks and painted caverns. In this way nature appears to have suggested to mankind the earlier efforts of art.

The Rathas, or monolithic temples to the south of the village, are probably the most ancient of the remains at Mâmallaipûr. Their inscriptions are in a character so completely obsolete, that the most learned natives, according to Dr. Babington, are unable to decipher them. This species of sculpture is remarkable, and much more rare than mere excavations. It was, however, practised by the ancient Egyptians, and Herodotus (Lib. ii. cap. 155) has given a short description of a monolithic temple of Latona, which stood at Buto, near the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile. He says it measured 40 cubits or 60 feet in height, breadth, and width: and its roof consisted of a separate stone, four cubits high. This temple, which must have been conveyed to its site, must have weighed on the lowest computation upwards of 5,000 tons. At the 175th chapter of the same book, he describes another monolithic temple at Sais, which had been brought thither by King Amasis from Elephantine, the island opposite Syene, immediately below the first cataract; a distance of twenty days' sail, or of 700 miles by land. The outside measure-

ment of this monolith he states to be—length, 21 cubits; breadth, 14; and height, 8: the inside measurement was—length, 18 cubits and 1 pygon; breadth, 12 cubits; and the height, 5 cubits. Taking the cubit in round numbers at 1 foot 6 inches and the pygon at 1 foot 3 inches, the temple must have been externally 31 feet 6 inches long, 21 feet broad and 12 feet high: and internally 28 feet 3 inches long, 18 feet broad, and 7½ feet high. This monolith then was inferior in point of mere size to the largest of those at Mâmallaipûr; the dimensions of which externally, according to Mr. Goldingham, are as follows:—length 49 feet, breadth 25 feet, and height 25 feet. But we must remember that while these are *in loco naturæ*, being cut in fact from large boulders or distinct masses of granite, the monolith of Amasis had to be conveyed to its site by manual labor; and Herodotus affirms that two thousand boatmen were occupied in its removal for a period of upwards of three years. After all indeed it was not placed precisely where the king had proposed; for which two reasons are assigned. First, that the architect, weary of the labor and time expended on the work, heaved a deep sigh as the workmen were dragging it forward, which Amasis interpreted as an unfavorable omen: and secondly, that one of the workmen, having unfortunately fallen under the moving mass, was crushed to death, and on this account it was allowed to remain where it then was. Mr. Burton, in his excerpta (plate 41) gives a representation of a similar monolith said to be of the same king, and found at Tel-et-mai. This measures externally 21 feet 9 inches high, 13 feet broad, and 11 feet 7 inches deep: and internally 19 feet 3 inches high, 8 feet broad, and 8 feet 3 inches deep.

The sculptured rocks at Mâmallaipûr, (on which is represented the penance of Arjuna,) are by no means without their parallel. This primitive application of the art of sculpture seems an obvious mode of perpetuating the memory of events, historical or mythological, and has been adopted from the earliest ages. On the rocks of the river Lycus, near Beirout in Syria, are still to be seen the figure in relief, and the name inscribed, of Remeses the great king of Egypt, who is supposed to have flourished about B. C. 1350, and was therefore contemporary with Ehud and Shamgar mentioned in the book of Judges: but early Egyptian chronology is so exceedingly uncertain, that the era of Remeses must always be conjectural. Not far from this is another sculpture of a Persian king, and an inscription in the arrow-headed character, which not having been yet deciphered affords likewise no conclusive evidence as to its age. Copies of these have been made by Bonomi. No Christian can have forgotten the exclamation of Job, "Oh that my words were now written! Oh "that they were printed in a book! That they were "graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for "ever!" (Chap. xix., 23, 24.) And from some remains in the wady Mokatteb, and in other valleys near the mountains of Sinai, it would seem that the art of "engraving" on rocks is in those regions of great antiquity. Figures of men and animals accompany those inscriptions; the characters of the latter are for the most part unknown in the present day. These inscribed rocks extend in one place for about three hours march, and are mentioned by Burkhardt, Laborde, and other travellers.

At Be-Sitoon, near Kermansheh in Persia, is a

stream above whose fountain-head is a projecting rock containing the remains of an immense piece of sculpture. The great antiquity of this interesting relic is evidenced by the successive mutilations it has suffered, to afford room for subsequent inscriptions, as well as by the ordinary operations of time upon both it and them. By Mr. Macdonald Kinnier this bas-relief has been supposed identical with one spoken of by Diodorus Siculus, on the authority of Ctesias; who certainly had peculiar advantages for obtaining accurate information connected with Persian tradition and history. He says, "We are informed by Diodorus Siculus that Semiramis, in her march to Ecbatana, encamped near a mountain called Bagistan, in Media. She cut out a piece of the lower part of the rock, and caused her image to be carved upon it, and a hundred of her guards that were lanceteers, standing round her; she wrote likewise in Assyrian letters on the rock, that Semiramis ascended from the plain to the top of the mountain, by laying the packs and fardles of the beasts that followed her one upon another." There are many points of resemblance between the mountain of Be-Sitoon and that of Bagistan described by Diodorus Siculus; and supposing Mr. Kinnier to be right in his conjectures, we have here the remnants, for they are unfortunately no more, of a bas-relief executed at the lowest computation 800 years before the Christian era. Throughout ancient Media and Persia sculptured rocks, of various ages, repeatedly occur: a great many of these bas-reliefs, however, appear to belong to the Sassanian era: (from A. D. 226 to A. D. 632.)

These introductory notes have, I fear, already become too long and tedious; it only remains, there-

fore, that I acknowledge my obligations to Walter Elliot, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, to whose friendly kindness I am indebted for the very valuable supplementary paper on the remains at Sâluvan Kuppam, as well as for a map of Mâmallaipûr drawn in 1808 by Colonel Mackenzie. The latter I have reduced, and by numbering the several objects both in it and in Mr. Braddock's description, I have endeavoured to render the whole a more useful guide to those who may dedicate a few spare hours to a visit to this interesting spot. The sculptures are for the most part such as do mark no very advanced state of art. They possess none of that finished elegance and refined taste, and but little of that purer poetic spirit which characterize the productions of Europe. Still they are highly deserving attention as the best specimens of native skill to be met with, I believe, in Southern India; and will not be undervalued by those who are capable of comprehending the extent to which art, even in its earliest infancy, has contributed to the civilization of mankind.

G. W. M.

Fort St. George.

Lieutenant Braddock's Guide to the Sculptures, Excavations, &c., at Mâmallaipûr.

I shall commence my account of these curious sculptures and ruins with a small dilapidated temple built within fifty yards of the northern termination of the hill. (No. 1.)* It is a rectangular building

[* The Nos. in this paper refer to plates XX. and XXI.]

of plain hewn stone devoid of ornament: 24 feet long, 15 feet broad, and about 12 feet high. It has two apartments, the innermost of which contains a black stone lingam, neatly executed and in good preservation, notwithstanding that from the absence of roofing it is exposed to the weather. This temple is completely overshadowed with trees, which have taken root in the walls, and whose branches forcing their way through the joints of the stones have contributed much to its dilapidation and present ruinous appearance.

At a short distance to the eastward of this pagoda lies the *Group of Monkeys* (No. 2) spoken of in the Asiatic Researches, in an account of this place written in 1784.* The group, now much buried in the sand, consists of a male, a female, and a young one. The male monkey with a laudable love of cleanliness is studying the head of its partner with the most friendly attention, and the young one is satisfying its hunger. At a little distance lies a mutilated figure† of Ganesa or Pillaiyâr, the Hindu God of highways, &c., of whom I shall speak presently.

Looking towards the south, a *loose mass of rock* (No. 3) will be seen resting on a slope of the hill, apparently on so mere a point, that it seems as though a small force would dislodge it and roll it headlong on the plain. Its circumference is 68 feet, and its height about 25.‡ From the eastward it has a circular appearance; from other points of view its figure is irregular.

[* Cp. Chambers, p. 4, *supra*.]

[† Not found there now (1868).]

‡ Mr. Goldingham gives its diameter as 27 feet.

On the western face of the northern termination of the hill, not far south of the pagoda just described, may be found, after a little search, a circular cistern cut out of a solid stone.* It is 8 feet 6 inches in diameter, and 4 feet deep, but cracked.

Near this cistern the face of the rock is carved and ornamented to the extent of 28 feet in length by 14 feet in height. There are three *large excavated niches* (No. 4) with a flight of four steps leading into each. Figures are sculptured on each side the entrances. The centre or principal niche contains a figure of Mahâdeva and four other figures cut on the back wall. The other two niches contain a figure of Vishṇu and four others. This rock faces the north-west, and to the right or south of it is an imperfect representation of Durgâ, eight-handed, and trampling under foot the head of Mahishâsura, whose story will be told presently. On the eastern face of this rock are carvings of a well-proportioned elephant five feet high, and the heads of three smaller elephants; with those of a monkey and of a peacock.† The communication between the eastern and western faces of this rock is through a cleft at the north end of it.

At a short distance in a south-westerly direction from this place is an *excavation* in the solid rock (No. 5) measuring 22 feet long, 9 feet 6 inches deep, and

[* Called the 'Gopis' churn' by the Brahmans, who have also named the boulder on the slope of the rock 'Krishṇa's butter-ball.'—Cp. Bruce's Scenes and Sights in the East, pp. 130—132.]

[† "The head of the elephant is admirably finished. Perched above the elephant is a monkey, the figure and attitude of which are exquisitely faithful to life. The flow of its tail is full of expression, and is a study in itself. The whole face is marked by the anxious and mischievous spirit so natural to this creature."—Bruce, p. 133.]

8 feet high. The top is supported by two plain, strong, square pillars. It contains a square niche, on each side of which is a figure, probably that of Pârvatî, a goddess who will be introduced to the reader presently. This excavation is on the western face of the hill, which is a continuous range of granite masses.

Still keeping on the same side, at 100 or 150 yards southward from the last excavation we come to *another* (No. 6) containing five niches, with steps leading into three of them; and two rows of pillars, four in each. This excavation is 36 feet long, 16 feet deep, and nearly 10 feet high. The niches contain each a kind of recess, (intended probably for a group of figures,) and a circular trench, (intended probably for lingams.) A figure is carved on each side of all the niches at the entrance. Four steps lead into this temple which faces north-west, half-west.

Adjoining is a *rough excavation* 36 feet long, 10 deep, and 10 high. In the middle is a large niche, also rough. About 12 feet of the rock appear to have been cut away before sufficient height was obtained for the front. This occurs in other places also; and a platform or level space is thus formed in the rock in front.

About half a mile westward, at the western extremity of the Palmyra tope which is on the west of the hill, there are three small unfinished temples sculptured out of solid detached masses of stone, (No. 7): but as more elaborately finished and larger temples of the same description will be described hereafter, I shall not dwell on these smaller ones. I would now lead the reader back to the large stone before described as resting on the slope of the rock on the eastern side of the hill, (No. 3.)

Proceeding southerly from this stone, you presently arrive at *a temple* fashioned out of the rock, (No. 8,)* and ornamented according to a style of architecture wholly different from that of this part of India in the present day. The top is elliptical, and bears considerable resemblance to the gothic style. The pillars which support a verandah on the western side are, I think, similar to columns which I have seen in the sketches of Egyptian Ruins by M. Denon. This temple is 28 feet high, 20 feet long, and 11 feet 6 inches broad. On the western face, at what may be called the foundation, there is a rent in the rock, which causes the temple to incline a little out of the perpendicular towards the south-east. This handsome structure (if so it may be termed), has a verandah and a niche, the latter containing an image of Ganesa, which, blackened by smoke and ghee, is still an object of adoration to the people of the village. Their Brahmans, I was told, propitiate the stone deity every Friday with lustrations of ghee and cocoanut oil, and certain rites and prayers. The inner wall of the verandah, south of the niche, bears an inscription in the same kind of character as that hereafter noticed. According to Dr. Babington, (Transactions Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 2, pp. 265-6,† and plate XIV.) this inscription consists of verses in praise of Siva.‡ I have stated that this temple contains an image of Ganesa, and as this is the second time that Ganesa has been mentioned, it may be right to state who and what he is.

[* Called by the Brahmans 'Arjuna's Ratha.'—See note* p. 56, *supra*.]

[† Pp. 56, 57, *supra*.]

‡ See Dr. Babington's translation of this inscription in the introductory notes, [p. 67, *supra*.] M.

Colonel Moor, in his Hindu Pantheon, says—that Ganesa* is the God of prudence and policy, and the reputed eldest son of Siva or Mahâdeva and Pârvatî. He is represented with an elephant's head; generally with four hands, but sometimes with only two, and sometimes with six or eight. He is said to be propitiated by Hindus of all sects in the outset of any business: if a house is to be built, a book written, or a journey commenced, Ganesa is invoked.

It is very common for Hindu authors to give different versions of the same tale, and there are different accounts of the manner and cause of Ganesa's possession of an elephant's head. One relates that Vishnu and Ganesa fought, and that Ganesa would have been triumphant, but that Siva (his father!) cut off his head: whereat his mother Pârvatî, being very much distressed and offended, proceeded to revenge the act by performing such austerities as, had they continued, would have deranged the destinies of the universe. This alarmed the whole congregation of the gods, who intreated Siva to restore Ganesa to life. He consented to do so, but the severed head could not be found: it was determined therefore to place on the headless trunk the cranium of the first animal they met with, which proved to be an elephant. There is another story to this effect, that Mahâdeva and Pârvatî quarrelled; their quarrel was followed by a reconciliation; and their reconciliation by the birth of Ganesa. On this joyful occasion all the gods came to congratulate Pârvatî; but one of them,† whose name I have forgotten, kept his eyes cast

[* Lord (îsa) of a troop (gana); so called, because he is chief of the subordinate gods attendant upon Siva.—Wilson.]

[† Sani (Saturn.)]

down and forebore to look up. The goddess observing this asked him the reason of it; when he told her that he was doomed to injure whomsoever he looked upon, and therefore would not venture to look on the child. Pârvatî would not believe that any injury could be done, and urged him to admire her beautiful Ganesa. But no sooner did he lift up his eyes, than the child's head vanished. This unexpected result astounded Pârvatî, who had no sooner recovered from her first surprise, than she gave such passionate vent to her feelings, that Vishnu, apprehensive of the consequences, flew to the banks of the Ganges, and brought thence the head of an elephant, which he placed on Ganesa's shoulders.

Passing the north-western front of the temple just described, and following the foot-path which leads through a narrow acclivity formed by rocks and bushes on either side, we come to *an excavation* with a very pretty frontage, on the left hand. (No. 9.) It is hewn in the side of the hill, is 22 feet long, 11 feet deep, and 10 feet 6 inches high. Of this excavation and of the imagery within it, plates are given in the second Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions.*

On the wall, at the right hand or south-west end, there is a group of figures representing the Vâmana Avatâra, or fifth incarnation of Vishnu, undertaken by him to punish pride and presumption. The story is this:

Mahâbali, a prince who lived in the Treta yuga, or the second age, was so elated by his prosperity, that he omitted to perform the more essential sacrifices to the

[* See plates V.—IX., *supra*.]

gods. This being highly offensive to them, Vishnu, determined to check so bad an example, became incarnate and assumed the form of a wretched Brahman dwarf. Mahâbali was at that time in possession of the whole universe, having previously acquired this dominion in consequence of his signal piety, or punctual performance of certain austerities and rigorous acts of devotion. Vishnu, in the shape just mentioned, appeared before him, and asked as a boon so much of his wide possessions as he could pace in three steps. This the monarch readily undertook to grant, at the same time desiring him to ask something more worthy for a prince to bestow. The pretended Brahman, however, professed his content with what he had already requested, and the king proceeded to ratify his promise by pouring water into the petitioner's hand, which was, it would seem, the most solemn mode of confirming a grant. As he was doing this, the size of the dwarf grew larger and continued to expand until it filled the whole earth. Vishnu then discovering himself, deprived Mahâbali in two steps of earth and heaven ; but in consideration of his previous virtue and general good conduct, he deprived him of no more, but left to his government the kingdom of Pâtâla, a lower or inferior world, said to be the abode of serpents. Some say that the water used in this transaction for the purpose of ratification fell from Vishnu's hand on the head of Siva, and flowing thence, formed the origin of the Ganges.

Vishnu in this character is sometimes called "Trivikrama," "the three-step taker." In this sculpture he is represented eight-handed, and in the act of stepping prodigiously : the right foot is on the

ground, and the left is raised sideways as high as his head. It looks, therefore, as it is, very unnatural, for the articulation of the head of the thigh bone in its socket would not admit of such a position. The subordinate figures do not appear to illustrate the story, or at least the version above given of it. Perhaps another circumstance should be related, and the imagination may be allowed under some restriction to be the interpreter: but even then only a part of the figures seem to be connected with the tale.

It is said that Śukra, regent of the planet Venus and guru of the Asuras, acting as mantrî, or minister,* of Mahâbali, faithfully informed the king of the deceit that was being practised upon him. There is a figure with a dog-like head speaking to another, who seems to rest his chin on his right hand in deep reflection. These two figures occupy the upper part of the sculpture on the left of Vishṇu. Below them are two figures in human shape represented as falling. Perhaps the former may represent Śukra and Mahâbali at the moment when the prince was first made acquainted by his counsellor with the true character of the dwarf, but was too proud to withdraw his royal pledge: and the latter the same after he had fallen from his high estate: or the two falling figures may imply that the two steps of Vishṇu had deprived him of the dominion of heaven and earth. What the rest of the figures may illustrate, I do not conjecture.†

On the wall of the opposite or north-eastern end is a sculptured delineation in bas-relief of the Varâha

[* Priest and preceptor, not minister.]

[† Cp. the passages descriptive of the dwarf incarnation given in Muir's Sanscrit texts, Part IV., pp. 114—131.]

Avatâra. Among the legendary stories of the Hindus, several different accounts are given of Vishṇu's reasons for taking on himself this incarnation, and particularly why he assumed the shape of a boar. Among others it is said that a Daitya, or evil spirit, named Hiraṇyâksha, gained from Brahmâ by his scrupulous piety and the performance of penances of very great efficacy, a promise that he should have given to him anything he asked. Accordingly he desired universal dominion, and exemption from being hurt by the bite or power of any living creature. He enumerated all animals and venomous reptiles that bite or sting, except the boar, which was forgotten. His ambitious desires were no sooner obtained than he became exceedingly presumptuous, proud, and wicked; and forgetting the great power of the gods, he ran away with the whole earth, and plunged it and himself into the depths of the sea! This singular exploit made the interposition of the preserving power necessary; and Vishṇu changing himself into the form of a boar, plunged into the ocean; fought a dreadful battle which lasted a thousand years; at length slew the impious Daitya; brought back the earth on his tusks, and restored it to its usual good order, peace, and tranquillity.*

The sculptures illustrative of the story appear to refer to a period subsequent to the battle, for the figures supply the imagination with the idea that the boar-headed deity is now solacing himself after the toils and dangers of his thousand years' conflict.

[* There appears to be confusion here between the story of Hiraṇyakaśipu and the legend of the death of his brother Hiraṇyâksha.—Cp. Vishṇupurâṇa, Book I., chap. 4, Wilson's note (p. 62, Vol. I., 8vo. edn. by Hall) and chap. 17. Also Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Part IV., p. 29 ff.]

The principal figure, Vishnu (four-handed), is executed with considerable spirit. He stands firmly on the left leg. The right leg is raised, and the foot rests on the head of another figure. On the right knee sits a female; Vishnu's left hand grasps the small part of her right leg, and his right hand passes behind her, a little lower than the waist, while he regards her with interesting pig-headed gravity. His two remaining hands hold a conch shell and the chakra.* Below Vishnu's right leg is the upper portion of a figure with the hands raised as in prayer, its lower part being immersed in what may be supposed a representation of the waves of the sea, (the rock being here very rough and unfinished.) Another figure, rising out of this imaginary water, is also in a posture of supplication; and there are other accessories, but they do not appear to explain the story.

From the back wall of this excavated fane is a projection measuring 7 feet 9 inches broad and 3 feet 6 inches deep. It contains an empty niche, in which, however, may be traced the outlines of a deity, which the chisel of the workman has not brought into being. A flight of three small steps leads into the niche, and on either side its entrance, as well as at each end formed by the projection, is a figure in bas-relief, with the name, attributes, or office of which I am unacquainted.

Sculptured on the back wall between this niche and the north-east end of the excavation is a female figure, probably Devî or Pârvatî, the consort of Siva, bathing. She is attended by her females and two

* The chakra is a circular piece of metal, not unlike our discus or quoit. M.

elephants, one of which is pouring a vessel of water over her, and the other is receiving another vessel from the hands of one of her attendants.*

On a similar space to the south of the niche is another female figure, which I take to be a representation of the same great personage; in this, however, I am not positive.† On each side of the principal figures are two bulky little fellows, and a fourth figure of a more natural size. There are also two heads of animals, one somewhat similar to an antelope's, the other intended perhaps for that of a tiger.

The front of this excavation is supported by two columns and two pilasters of a handsome style of architecture. The ceiling is ornamented with flowery sculpture, but has several cracks in it running lengthways; *i. e.* in a north-east and south-westerly direction.

About eighty yards west of this place, on the top of the hill, may be found, after a little research, the stone bed, with a lion for its pillow, which, in the account published in the Asiatic Researches already alluded to, is called the Dharmarâja's lion-throne, (No. 10); and at a trifling distance S. W. of this, is the bath of Draupadî. The lion and bed measure in length 9 feet 6 inches, and in breadth 3 feet 6 inches; the lion is 18 inches high, and stretching across the south end appears as if intended for a seat or pillow. The bed lies due north and south, and is hewn out and fashioned on the surface of the solid rock. There is not the least appearance of the place having once been an apartment of a palace, as intimated in that account: the top of the hill here-

[* See note § p. 50, *supra*.] [† See note ‡ p. 50, *supra*.]

about is indeed quite uneven and irregular, and abounds with immense blocks and masses of granite.

There is nothing more which merits notice on the surface of the hill, if we except numerous mortice holes, which may be seen running parallel to its western edge, and many small flights of steps cut in several parts of the rocks.

Leaving the top of the hill, and descending by the path in front of the temple last mentioned, at a few feet south-east of the pagoda which contains the image of Ganesa, will be found sculptured in bas-relief, on the eastern faces of two large rocks, the *story of the Tapas* (No. 11) or intense penance of Arjuna. These two rocks adjoin each other, being divided only by a fissure. They measure 84 feet in length, and about 30 feet in height.

In this group of sculptures, the principal figure, that of Arjuna, is not the largest. He is seen on the left of the fissure in the posture of penance; his arms are raised above his head, his right leg is lifted up. He is supposed to stand on the great toe of his left foot. His arms and right leg appear withered, but his left leg is of the natural size. His chest and ribs are prominent, but the stomach and abdomen sunken; the whole figure representing emaciation from long fasting. Besides this figure there is a multitude of others both of men and animals; and among the latter two well-proportioned elephants as large as life. The largest of them measures 17 feet from the proboscis to the tail, and 14 feet in height. The smaller is in height 10 feet, and in length 11. Under the belly of the larger elephant there is a small one, with the heads and trunks of two others, while the head of a fourth is seen between his proboscis and

fore feet. These figures of elephants are cut on the right hand rock on a level with the ground. On the rock to the left, near the fissure, and below the figure of Arjuna, is a neat little temple,* with a niche and a figure† in it. Just within the fissure itself is a figure like that of the Mermaid, but in the native languages it has a name purporting half-woman and half-snake.‡ Scattered over the face of both rocks there are many representations of men, ascetics, monkeys, lions (or what are meant for lions), tigers, antelopes, birds, satyrs and monstrous animals which it would puzzle a naturalist of the present age to nomenclate.§ The whole are executed with considerable spirit, and occupy a space of about 2,400 square feet. A plate giving a representation of these sculptures is published in the 2nd Vol. of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.¶

* At the south-east corner of this little fane, in a sitting and stooping posture, and entirely detached from the rock, is an admirable figure of an ascetic, miserably emaciated, which, though somewhat worn by exposure to the weather, bears evidence to the talent, skill, and anatomical knowledge of the artist.‖

[† Said to be *Krishna*.]

[‡ Nâga, the name of demi-gods inhabiting the lower regions, the upper part of whose bodies is human, and the lower part that of a serpent. There is the figure of a male Nâga as well as that of a female, but the upper part of the body has fallen off and is lying in front of the rock.]

[§ On the north side of the crevice, at the foot of the rock, is the figure of a cat standing on its hind legs, with its fore-paws raised above its head in seeming imitation of Arjuna, performing penance—after eating part of *Krishna*'s butter-ball—in order that the sea may dry up and she be thus able to devour all the fish! Near the cat are rats, enjoying apparently their temporary immunity from persecution.]

[¶ See plate I. and plate II., No. 1, *supra*.]

[‖ Said to be *Drona*, (see note * p. 31, *supra*,) the figures, now headless, of whose pupils are in front, and somewhat below that of their preceptor.]

The story of the penance of Arjuna may be told as follows :—

The five sons of Pân*du*râja lost their dominions in play with their cousin Duryodhana; who, however, played unfairly and won through "guile and wicked stratagem."* The consequence was that they and their followers were banished for twelve years and upwards, and were doomed to wander in jungles, wilds, and solitudes. During this period the elder brother took counsel with the others, how they might repossess themselves of their patrimony after the term of banishment had expired: and in order to attain this it appeared desirable to gain the mantra Pâsupatâstra.† This mantra, or incantation, was of such wonderful efficacy, that if it was uttered while in the act of shooting an arrow, the arrow became inevitably destructive, and moreover possessed of the power of producing or generating other weapons, which not only scattered death on all sides, but were able to cause the destruction of the whole world.‡ This mantra could be obtained only from the god Îsvara, (a name of *Siva*); and Arjuna, as he was distinguished among his brethren for his prudence, fortitude, and valour, was employed to procure it.§

The hero of this story had to travel far to the north of the Himâlaya mountains, there to perform austere and rigid penance in order to propitiate the

[* See Wheeler's Hist. of India, Vol. I., chap. 7.]

[† The Pâsupata *weapon*, not mantra.]

[‡ Cp. Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Part IV., p. 196.]

[§ He went first to Indra by the advice of his grandfather Vyâsa, and afterwards, at the suggestion of Indra, to the Himâlaya, to obtain a sight of Mahâdeva.—Cp. Monier Williams' Indian Epic Poetry, pp. 103—104, and Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Part IV., p. 194 ff.]

god and obtain his favor: and as a preparatory measure he was instructed in all requisite mantras and mystic ceremonies. On reaching the appointed place he found a delightful retreat; a grove or forest abounding with streams and fruits and flowers, with whatever could regale the senses or charm the eye. Not only was the earth most bountiful, but the air was filled with the strains of celestial melody. In this place Arjuna commenced and carried on his austerities by meditation, by prayer, and by ceremonial purification.

During the first month he ate but once in four days: during the second month, but once in seven days: during the third month, only once in fourteen days: and during the fourth month he did not eat at all, but completed his penance by standing on the tip of his great toe, the other leg being lifted from the ground, and his hands raised above his head.* This is the period of the penance which the sculptor has selected for illustration, in the curious work now under notice. The figure of Arjuna is exhibited in a posture agreeing exactly with the story, the relation of which, however, it seems necessary to continue a little further, in order to explain the accessories, the figures of men and animals, with which the whole face of the rock is covered.

The nearest *Rishis*, (hermits or ascetics, who by austerities and meditation may attain, as their object is, riches, power, supernatural arms, or beatitude), seeing the intense devotion of Arjuna, went and reported it to the god Îsvara, who was highly gratified: but in order to try the constancy and courage

* See the passage from the Mahâbhârata given in the Appendix.]

of the hero, the deity assumed the form of a wild hunter.* One of his accompanying attendants was transformed into a wild boar,† and Arjuna preparing to shoot it was interrupted by the unknown deity, who forbade him to strike his game. Arjuna notwithstanding let fly a shaft, and so did the disguised hunter, and the boar fell lifeless. This occasioned an altercation, which brought on a personal combat; and when Arjuna had expended all his arrows on his antagonist without effect, he tore up rocks and mountains to hurl at him, but they too fell harmless at his feet. This so enraged our hero, that he attacked his foe hand to hand. Such was the daring audacity of this act, and the bold and determined courage of Arjuna, that all heaven was filled with surprise, and the beasts of the forest, and the inhabitants of the etherial regions, alike flocked to witness the contest, which was terminated by the god's revealing himself, and bestowing on his votary the boon he wished for, viz., the Pâsupatâstra.‡

This congregating of the inhabitants of the skies and of the forest, this mixture of men and brutes, makes probable the supposition that it is the second point or period of the story that has been selected by the artist for exemplification, as instanced by the particular postures and variety of the figures seen in this curious carving.

[* Kirâta.]

[† A Dânava (demon) in the form of a boar was about to attack Arjuna.]

[‡ The story is related in the Vanaparva of the Mahâbhârata.—Cp. Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Part IV., pp. 194—196. The combat between Arjuna and Siva, disguised as a Kirâta, is the subject of the poem Kirâtârjunîya, by Bhâravi.]

Adjoining the sculptured imagery of Arjuna, to the south, are the wide beginnings of an excavation (No. 12) having a front of 50 feet, and a depth at the north end of 40 feet, and at the south end of 35 feet. A large portion of the solid rock projects from the back of the excavation 25 feet, with a frontage of 23 feet, leaving deep recesses on either side, in which stone has been left rough cut for three pillars. The front of this excavation is supported by five octagonal columns,* whose bases are formed of figures of a grotesque horned animal: a sixth column originally existed, its base and capital still remain, but its shaft is removed. At a few feet within is a second row of six columns corresponding with those in front. The ground at the entrance is partly overgrown with bushes, and the cave now affords shelter to the village cattle.

A few yards south of this excavation, opposite to a street of the village is an open building, which from the sculptures it contains may very properly be denominated *Krishna's* Choultry (No. 13). These sculptures are executed on the back wall of the building, or rather that part of the solid hill which forms the back wall. They represent the exploit of *Krishna* supporting the mountain Govarddhana in order to shelter his followers from the wrath of Indra,†—the god that darts the "swift blue bolt," the

* The capitals of these columns are not unlike those of some of the pillars of the Indra Sabhâ at Ellora, and of the cave temples of Elephanta. M.

[† See the Vishnupurâna, Book V., chap. 11.—"It seems not unlikely that this legend has some reference to the caves or cavern temples in various parts of India. A remarkable representation of it occurs upon the sculptured rocks of Mahâbalipûr." Wilson's note.—

"Sprinkler of genial dews, and fruitful rains
Over hills and thirsty plains."*

This action is fabled to have been performed by *Krishna* with one of his little fingers at the age of seven.

"With one finger raised the vast Goverdhen;
Beneath whose rocky burden,
On pastures dry, the maids and herdmen trod:
The Lord of thunder felt a mightier God."

Sir W. Jones.

In the present sculpture, the attitude of the God corresponds sufficiently with the story. He appears, however, to sustain the mountain with the palm of his left hand, instead of the little finger as in the poetical version.† The only representation of the supported mountain consists of a rough line running above the whole of the figures. This line has been formed by cutting away as much of the rock as would answer the purpose of giving the requisite degree of relief for typifying, in the above manner, the rugged bottom of the mountain, torn up from its foundations, and sustained aloft in the air. The whole group looks clumsy; the proportions are bad; the countenances are destitute of expression; and little praise is due to it either as a work of art or imagination. So singular a deliverance from sudden destruction ought to have supplied the artist with a subject capable of being embodied with great spirit: but here, instead, is an inanimate, meaningless group, which, but for the principal figure, would not at all

The story is also given in the Bhâgavatapurâna.—See Eastwick's translation of the Prem Sâgar, chap. XXVI.]

[* Sir William Jones,—Hymn to Indra.]

[† "With one hand," according to the Vishnupurâna; "on the little finger of his left hand," according to the Prem Sâgar.—See plate 61 in Moor's Hindu Pantheon.]

have interpreted the story. There are about twenty figures of men, women, and children, and as many heads of cows or bullocks. There is one tolerable figure of a brahmany bull, and another of a cow licking its calf while in the act of being milked. It may be that the general quietude and repose of the figures are intended to imply their security from the terrible danger so recently, and still but for the god's interposition, impending over them. In another part of the sculpture is a figure playing on a flute or pipe; this may also represent Krishna, in his character of Muralîdhara, *the tuneful.** In this form he is called Bâlakrishna, and is said to have amused himself by piping to the swains and damsels of Govarddhana.† This figure of Krishna is small, and might be overlooked; it is situated over the hinder part of the cow and calf just mentioned. At the north end of this sculpture, raised 5 or 6 feet from the floor, is a well executed figure of a brahmany bull in full relief; and at the south end are several figures of beasts apparently intended for lions: one of them, however, resembles the Sphynx,‡ having a human face with a body of a quadruped.

Krishna's Choultry extends in front 47 feet; is 26 feet deep and 12 feet high. The roof is made of hewn stone, which is partially covered with earth; and is supported by three rows of columns, 4 in each. The bases of those in the front row consist of grotesque figures of a nondescript animal, sitting on its

[* *Lit.* "the flute-holder."—Cp. plate 60, fig. 8, in Moor's Hindu Pantheon.]

[† See Eastwick's Prem Sàgar, chap. XXII.]

‡ A similar figure is met with at Ellora. M.

haunches, having curved horns, and a long tail which is curled upon its back like the figure 8.

On the hill above this choultry is the *foundation of a rectangular building* (No. 14)* measuring 66 feet in length, and 42 in breadth. In the middle of this is a gateway 12 feet wide, running east and west; and in the gateway are two recesses, each 12 feet square, one on each side. Near the corners of these recesses in the gateway there are four large square stone pillars, 16 feet high, 3 broad and 2 thick, with flowery ornaments. This foundation corresponds with *a similar one* (No. 15) about a hundred yards† distant towards the east, in the plain below; and the two form nearly a straight line with a very ancient temple situated on the sea shore.

From the front of Krishna's Choultry, on looking towards the south-west, may be seen on the top of the hill, a small *dilapidated building* (No. 16) quite in ruins.

Beneath this is an *excavation*‡ in the side of the hill (No. 17) of a rectangular shape, measuring 25 feet long, 18 feet deep, and 10 feet 6 inches high. The front is adorned by two neatly finished pillars and two pilasters. At each end are imperfect traces and outlines of a group of figures; and on each side of the excavation in front is a neatly finished niche, 3 feet high, 3 feet deep, and 2 feet 6 inches wide. In front of the whole is the skeleton of a verandah 48 feet long, 12 feet high, and 12 feet wide. Steps are cut in the side of the hill, at one end of the

[* It is said to be the commencement of a Gopuram.]

[† The distance is more nearly 300 yards.]

[‡ Called Râmânujajiyyar Mandapam. There is a short inscription on the floor.]

verandah, by which there is an easy ascent to the top of it.

At a few yards distance to the eastward, is a stone bed, with an elevation at the north end of it for a seat or pillow. The bed is 7 feet 3 inches long, and 3 feet 9 inches broad, and the pillow is 10 inches high.

On the eastern face of the easternmost of the detached rocks near this place, may be seen another group of sculptures, representing the same story of Arjuna; but the figures are not so distinct as the former, nor equally numerous, and they appear to have suffered much more from the weather.

On the summit of the most southern eminence of the mountain is a *small ruined temple* of sculptured stone (No. 18) 22 feet in length, 16 feet in breadth, and 16 in height.* Its foundation, which is of brick, measures 30 feet by 26. There is no regular access to it: the roof has fallen in, and the temple is partially covered by an old banyan tree. There is a fine open view of the surrounding country from the top of its walls.

Directly beneath, and cut into the same rock on which this little fane is built, is an excavated temple (No. 19) 33 feet long, 13 feet high, and 17 feet deep. In front are four columns, (one of which is broken), and pilasters at each end. The excavation contains three niches, of which the centre one is the principal; it has a sort of portal before it, and contains a group of figures representing Mahâdeva, Pârvatî,

[* Called by the Brahmans Arâkkennei (ஆரக்கெண்ணெய்) temple, as one ollock (about 1¼ gill) of oil used formerly to be expended daily for lighting it. This temple once, it is said, contained a lingam.]

their infant son Subrahmanya, five other figures and a bull, (Nandî).* The bull is in front of the principal figures, and on its back rests one of the feet of Mahâdeva, and one of those of Pârvatî. In the floor of this principal niche is a circular trench, 4 feet 6 inches in diameter, and about 3 inches deep, in the centre of which is a circular hole 16 inches in diameter, intended probably for the reception of a lingam. The other niches contain no sculptures. The portal before the centre niche projects from the back wall 8 feet 6 inches, and has a frontage of 11 feet. The front of this is sustained by two sculptured columns, and it has pilasters where it joins the wall.

This excavation, however, is chiefly remarkable for the sculptures executed on its side walls. These represent, the one, one of Vishnu's states of existence, and the other a celebrated conflict between Durgâ and Mahishâsura.

I shall first speak of that on the south-western side representing Vishnu. Previously, however, it will be necessary to observe that considerable uncertainty attaches to Nârâyana,† or the state or mode of being in which Vishnu here appears. Hindu Mythology sometimes speaks of it as a mode of existence of Brahmâ, sometimes of Siva, and sometimes

[* On Mount Kailâsa, the "residence of Kuvera, and favorite haunt of Siva."—Wilson.]

[† A name of Vishnu, but especially considered as the deity who was before all worlds. The word has several etymologies. That given by Manu is "he whose resting-place (ayana) was on the primeval waters (nârâ)," so called because they are the offspring of Nara, the embodied deity. See Wilson's Sans. Dict. under Nârâyana, Goldstücker's Dict. under *ayana*, Muir's Sanscrit Texts Part IV., p. 26 ff., and Wilson's Vishnupurâna, 8vo. edn. by Hall, Vol. I. pp. 55—59.]

of Vishnu in the act of willing the creation.* Under this character Vishnu is represented lying on the lotus, as well as on the thousand-headed serpent Sesha.

The sculpture now spoken of is in bas-relief, and measures 13 feet in length and 8 in height. The figure of Vishnu is 9 feet 6 inches long, recumbent on the snake Sesha, which is ingeniously coiled for his support in several convolutions, forming together a couch 3 feet high from the base; while five of its heads, (as many as could well be introduced,) form a kind of canopy over the head of the supposed deity.† Above the god are two small figures, male and female; below him in front in a kneeling posture, three; and at his feet erect, two. All these but the last are diminutive; but the two at his feet are seven feet high, and one of them grasps a club. The village brahmans say that two of the figures in front repre-

[* See passage from the Nâradîyapurâna, translated by Vans Kennedy,—Researches, p. 200.]

† This representation of Vishnu must be very similar to the following. "Hari is one of the titles of Vishnu, the deity in his preserving quality. Nearly opposite Sultan Ganj, a considerable town in the province of Bahar, there stands a rock of granite, forming a small island in the Ganges, known to Europeans by the name of the Rock Jehangiri, which is highly worthy of the traveller's notice for a vast number of images, carved in relief upon every part of its surface. Among the rest there is Hari, of a gigantic size, recumbent on a coiled serpent, whose heads, which are numerous, the artist has contrived to spread into a canopy over the sleeping god: and from each of its mouths issues a forked tongue, seeming to threaten instant death to any whom rashness might prompt to disturb him. The whole lies almost clear of the block on which it is hewn. It is finely imagined and executed with great skill. The Hindoos are taught to believe, that at the end of every Calpa (creation), all things are absorbed into the deity, and that in the interval of another creation, he reposeth himself upon the serpent Sesha (duration)."—*Wilkins' Hitopadesa.* B.

sent cow-keepers, who had been ill-used by Mahishâsura. These cow-keepers (husband and wife) had come to complain to Vishnu. Before they did so, however, they had inquired of the third figure, said to be a "Sâstrakâran," or sorcerer, as to the precise time when they might have a propitious opportunity. That while they were making the inquiry, one of the attendants of Mahishâsura, the figure bearing the club, came to carry them to his master, to punish them for daring to appeal to Vishnu. The other figure at the feet of Vishnu hereupon interposed, and being one of Vishnu's attendants, drove from his master's presence the presumptuous servant of the wicked Mahishâsura. The expression and postures of the figures do certainly seem to correspond with the story; but the tale itself suits ill the position and circumstances of Vishnu Nârâyana, which no doubt is represented in this sculpture.

The sculptures on the opposite or north-eastern end of the temple represent the conflict between Durgâ, (a personification* of active, not passive, virtue), and Mahishâsura, (a personification of wickedness.) These figures merit particular description.

The recess in which they are sculptured is 12 feet

* The *Devatâs* are represented as good beings, the *Asuras* as evil ones, in so far only as there is any countenance to the fiction of personified virtue and vice. That fiction is European. All that I have ever read makes the Asuras blameable because of acquired *power*; and power is subdued by superior skill or force. In some instances the Asuras are described as cheated, injured, oppressed, rebelling in consequence, and then subdued and destroyed. The story of Durgâ and Mahishâsura is the subject of the Chandîpâtha of the Skândapurâna†; and is the great occasion of celebration at Calcutta in the Durgâpûjâ feast, which is anything but virtuous. W. T.

[† The Chandîpâtha is a portion of the Mârkandeyapurâna. See note * p. 101, *infra*. Also Appendix.]

9 inches long and 8 feet high. To the left is seen Durgâ, mounted on what is intended for a fierce lion. To the right is Mahishâsura grasping a short thick club. The figure of Durgâ is 5 feet high and eight-handed: two of her arms have greater relief than the others, a circumstance which imparts to the figure a much greater appearance of truth and nature than would otherwise be the case. The left principal arm is stretched at full length, and the hand grasps a bow: the right arm is drawn back, as if in the act of discharging an arrow: but we see neither the arrow nor the string of the bow. Her six remaining hands hold respectively, on the left, a bell, a *sankha*, and something not easily distinguishable; and on the right, the fatal cord (pâsa,) a chakra (discus), and a sword. Mahishâsura is represented with a buffalo's head and horns and a human body. He stands in a retiring attitude, resting on his left foot, the right being advanced. His figure measures 7 feet 9 inches, not perpendicularly, but according to the posture in which he stands. Above, below, and behind Durgâ, may be seen her attendant warriors, armed with swords and bucklers: and also two domestics, one with a switch of hair* such as horsekeepers use, the other with a kittisal (or umbrella). Mahishâsura has a similar attendant also. Durgâ's attendants are all dwarfish, corpulent figures; those of Mahishâsura seem of more natural proportions. Durgâ appears the assailant, Mahishâsura on the defensive. Of three figures between the two principal personages, two are in active conflict,

[* Châmara-(chaurî), the tail of the Yak (Bos grunniens or Poëphagus), used to whisk off flies, also as an emblem or insignia of princely rank.—Wilson.]

and the third is falling headlong. One between the legs of Mahishâsura seems to have fallen; and another of the same party supports himself on his left hand, two fingers of the right being held up to indicate discomfiture and alarm. The whole group is executed with much skill and ability, and evinces the talent of the artist. The figure of Durgâ in particular is represented with much spirit, and is graceful and easy. The following from a paper by Mr. Wilkins in the 1st Vol. of the Asiatic Researches, serves to illustrate the story. "The evil "spirit Mahishâsura, in the disguise of a *buffalo* as "the name imports, had fought with Indra and his "celestial bands for a hundred years, defeated him "and usurped his throne: the story is to be found at "length in a little book called Chandî.* The van- "quished spirits being banished the heavens, and "doomed to wander the earth, after a while assem- "ble, and resolve to lay their grievances before "Vishnu and Siva. Conducted by Brahmâ they "repaired into the presence of those deities, who "heard their complaint with compassion, and their "anger was so violent against Mahishâsura, that a "kind of flame issued from their mouths, and from "the mouths of the rest of the principal gods, of "which was formed a goddess of inexpressible beauty "with ten arms, and each hand holding a different "weapon. This was a transfiguration of Bhavânî,

[*The Chandîpâtha, or Devîmâhâtmya, of the Mârkandeyapurâna, "in which the victories of the goddess [Chandî, Devî, Kâlî or Durgâ] over different evil beings or Asuras are detailed with considerable power and spirit. It is daily read in the temple of Durgâ, and furnishes the pomp and circumstance of the great festival of Bengal, the Durgâpûjâ."—Wilson, Preface to the Vishnupurâna. See also Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Part IV., p. 370 ff.]

"the consort of Siva, under which she is generally "called Durgâ.* She is sent against the usurper. "She mounts her Lion, the gift of the mountain "Himâlaya† (snowy), and attacks the monster, who "shifts his form repeatedly: till at length the god- "dess planteth her foot upon his head, and cuts it off "with a single stroke of her sword. Immediately "the upper part of a human body issues through "the neck of the headless buffalo, and aims a stroke, "which being warded off by the Lion with his right "paw, Durgâ puts an end to the combat, by piercing "him through the heart with a spear." The reader will observe that the latter part of this story does not correspond entirely with the sculpture just described, but this must not surprise us, for the Hindu Poets, Sculptors, and Painters, seem to claim the license of representing the same action in a thousand different ways, and under a thousand different versions.‡

I am tempted here to transcribe the following lines, written by Sir William Jones, in reference to this subject:—

"§ O Durgâ, thou hast deign'd to shield
Man's feeble virtue with celestial might,

[* Bhavânî, wife of Bhava (Siva) is the name given to Pârvatî in her pacific and amiable form, she being called Durgâ in her terrific form.—Wilson.]

[† The abode (âlaya) of snow (hima), personified as Himavat the mythical father of Umâ or Durgâ—hence her patronymic Haimavatî, "daughter of Himavat," or Pârvatî, "daughter of the mountain."]

[‡ Cp. plate 33 in Moor's Hindu Pantheon.]

§ It is now almost universally admitted that Sir W. Jones sullied his great talents by writing hymns to Hindu gods. They all borrow scriptural or classical ideas, and paint the personifications of India with colors not their own. The leading idea in these lines is not Hindu, but European. W. T.

PLATE XIX

RATHAS AT MÀMALLAIPÛR

FROM A SKETCH BY LIEUT. BRADDOCK

Gliding from yon jasper field,
And, on a lion borne, hast brav'd the fight;
For, when the demon Vice thy realms defied,
And arm'd with death each arched horn,
Thy golden lance, O goddess mountain-born,
Touch but the pest—He roar'd and died."

Marks of the workman's chisel may be seen on a large block of granite, opposite the front of this excavation; and also at a few yards to the north-east of it, on a rough hewn stone, intended for a bed, with an elevation at one end for a pillow. The bed measures 10 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 9 inches: the pillow is 2 feet broad and 12 inches high. There are two small steps at the foot of the bed.

On some of the rocks between this place and *Krishna*'s Choultry may be seen the rude commencement of several designs, which have been abandoned. Amongst them, however, is a finished excavation 21 feet long, 17 deep, and 9 high. The roof is sustained by four strong pillars. There are three niches in this excavation, with the outlines of a figure on each side of the centre niche. There is also a long inscription on the south-west end, now almost illegible.

About a mile to the south of the village in a small palmyra tope is a cluster of monolithic temples. It consists of five,* each differing from the rest in shape and dimensions, and each fashioned out of a detached solid mass of rock.

The first I shall notice stands a little to the west of the others, (No. 20), and is in shape similar to a horse-shoe.† It is a neat piece of sculpture 18 feet

* At a second visit to the place I understood that the sculptor's idea was the construction of five dwellings for the five Pân*d*avas. W. T.

[† Called by the Brahmans the Ratha of Nakula and Sahadeva, the youngest two of the five Pân*d*avas.]

in length, 11 feet in width, and about 16 feet in height. At the south end, that which is right-angled, is a roughly hewn niche, and a portal with two pillars.

The four other temples lie nearly in a straight line; but before describing them I would notice an image of a lion* and another of an elephant, both as large as life, which stand between this small temple and the other four. That of the lion is cracked. It measures in length 7 feet, and round the neck 8 feet: it is sunk in the earth about knee deep; nevertheless it has a noble appearance and its body is well proportioned. The elephant measures 14 feet in length and 12 feet in height. Its circumference in the largest part of its body is about 20 feet: round its head and throat, 14 feet; and round the largest part of the proboscis, 7 feet. It appears somewhat unfinished, and is sunk a little in the earth.

On the eastern side of the temples, near the most northern one, is a colossal Brahmany Bull, (Nandî, the vehicle of *Siva*.) Its head and neck only appear above ground: the length of the former being 4 feet, and the distance between the roots of the horns 3 feet 3 inches.

Of the temples, the most northern (No. 21)† is a neat little structure about 16 or 18 feet high and 11 feet square. The top diminishes on all sides by a parabolic curve, till it ends in a ridge 3 or 4 feet long. It has a niche on the western side, in which is a group of figures said to represent Draupadî, the wife of Dharmarâja.‡ My own idea is that it represents one

*Lion, the symbol of kingly power: elephant—that of great prosperity; and in particular the vehicle of Indra, [called Airâvata.] W. T.

[†Called Draupadi's Ratha.] [‡ And of his four brothers.]

of the consorts of Vishnu or Siva. A female figure is also sculptured on each side of the entrance to the niche.

The temple next to this (No. 22)* towards the south is of a pyramidal shape, and covered with ornamental sculpture. It is about 11 feet in front, 16 in depth, and 20 in height. It is much cracked, has a niche on the same face as the last, but there are no figures within.

The largest temple in the group (No. 23)† stands next in order;‡ it was abandoned before the design was completed and remains in an unfinished state. Across the middle there is a large rent, in some parts 3 or 4 inches wide; this has divided the body of the temple, and caused the separation of a large piece of the solid stone on the western side about the centre of the verandah. Another large piece has fallen from the south-western corner. Unfinished excavated verandahs exist round the lower part: and above them, on the outside, the body of the temple diminishes in width and length, so as to leave sufficient space to walk round it. The verandah on the south-eastern or sea-face of the temple is almost choked up with sand; but that on the opposite face retains its original height, and in it a large block of the solid stone projects from the back wall. The roof or top

[* The Brahmans have named this Arjuna's Ratha.]

[† Called Bhîma's Ratha.]

‡ Mr. Braddock has by an oversight omitted to give the measurements of this temple, I therefore supply them from Mr. Goldingham's account; although I must here observe that in other measurements as given by them respectively I find some trifling discrepancy. Mr. Goldingham's says that the temple measures 42 feet by 25 feet, and 35 feet in height. M.

of this temple is elliptical, and the general design is beautiful and elegant.

The last and most southern temple of the group (No. 24)* is of a pyramidal shape: its base measures 28 feet by 27, and it is 34 feet in height. It is neatly finished and much ornamented. In the two upper stories on the north-western face are niches; and on the ground story of the same face is a portal with four pillars, projecting from the body of the temple 4 feet. Besides the ornaments which it possesses in common with the rest, this temple has a profusion of figures of various sizes, representing Vishnu and Siva, in some of the many different characters which they sustain in the mythology of the natives. These figures are carved in recesses corresponding with their size; and over the majority of them are inscriptions, of which and of the figures, lithographed sketches may be seen in the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society before alluded to.

About 3 miles to the north of the village, on the sea shore, are several granite rocks, one of which inclining to the eastward projects about 40 feet above the surface like a huge pillar. On another are sculptured various figures representing heads of fierce horned animals, of the precise appearance of which it would be difficult to give a written description. Returning towards the village, about half a mile north of the village choultry, we meet with a small temple built of hewn stone, and resembling in its ornaments those already described.† The entrance is nearly filled with sand, and the walls are much

[* This is called Dharmarâja's Ratha.]

[† Said to be a Jain temple, and called Mukundanâyanâr Kôvil.]

dilapidated by trees which grow out of them. There is nothing, I believe, inside.

The last of these ancient remains to be described, are two temples (No. 26) built eastward from the village close to the sea shore. They are indeed so near the sea that the surf dashes against the foundations of them. They occupy a space of about 1,600 square feet and are becoming ruinous. They adjoin each other, being in some sense but one piece of building; but the existence of their two spires impresses one with an idea of their being two separate temples.* The more lofty structure I imagine to be about 60 feet high. This is the most eastern of the two, and has, overlooking the sea, a doorway 7 feet 6 inches high and 6 feet wide. Within this temple will be found a large broken black granite Lingam,† and a group of sculptures representing Mahâdeva, Pârvatî, and their son Kârtikeya or Subrahmaṇya.‡ The smaller temple contains a similar group of figures. The body of the large temple is inclosed with a massive stone wall, which as well as the temple itself bears the appearance of having been decorated with much ornamented sculpture. Small pieces of chunam still adhering to the ornaments give rise to the conjecture that the temples were either originally coated with it, or have been so covered in subsequent repairs. There can,

[* Cp. Gubbins, *infra*.]

[† It is sixteen-sided, with a perimeter of 6 feet 9 inches.]

[‡ The latter name is that generally used in South India. The son of Siva is called Kârtikeya because he was nursed by the Krittikâs, the personified Pleiades, and Subrahmaṇya because he is the special guardian of the Brahmanical order. For the origin of another of his names, Skanda, see Muir's Sanscrit Texts, Part IV., p. 296.]

I think, be no doubt that they were once elegant specimens of architecture; though they are now too much decayed to retain many traces of their original beauty.* The mineralogist might possibly form some idea of their age from an inspection of the several species of granite of which the walls are composed. Some kinds of this rock, it is known, are much more liable to decomposition than others, (gneiss especially); and the fact is here evident; some of the stones are very much decayed, while others appear as sound as on the day they were hewn. In a kind of passage of the larger temple is a large mutilated statue of Vishnu, now lying supine.†

These temples were formerly surrounded by an outer stone wall, part of which only is now standing. Two pillars also remain shewing the position of the western gateway.

Huge heaps of granite stones, on several of which are sculptured figures, lie in front and on each side of the eastern temple, and have tended greatly to protect it from the hostility of the sea, which has evidently encroached considerably. Many of these stones are of large dimensions, measuring from 6 to 10 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 1 foot thick; and on some of them are appearances of sculptured architectural ornaments, though the injuries of the weather, the action of the water, and the lapse of time have combined to deface them. About 65 feet in front of the eastern temple, and now standing in the sea, is a

[* "Mr. Fergusson, in his 'Ancient Architecture of Hindostan' declares it [the larger temple] to be with the single exception of the Pagoda at Tanjûr, the finest and most important Vimâna in the south of India."—Murray's Hand-Book of India, Part I, p. 31.]

[† See p. 34, *supra*.]

square stone pillar, (a common appendage, I believe, to all the country pagodas), which measures 11 feet in height and is 22 inches square.*

At a few yards north of the temples, on a detached rock (No. 27) close by the sea, may be observed a gigantic figure of Mahishâsura represented with the head of a buffalo. On a similar detached rock to the south are figures of a horse and an elephant's head (No. 28). These sculptures are considerably worn by the continual washing and action of the surf.†

There is no doubt in my mind that the sea has made considerable encroachments since the erection of these temples. I cannot conceive, were it not so, why they should have been built on the shore, so close to the sea that the surf in the calmest weather dashes against the doorway; while some of the well known appendages of such pagodas are actually at some distance in the waters. The large quantities of stones lying about the temple, and others which partially appear buried in the sea, seem even to indicate that other buildings also have existed to the eastward of these, which are now destroyed and overwhelmed by the ocean.

I have now given an account of all the curious sculptures and buildings which came under my observation at three several visits to the Seven Pagodas, and I believe I have omitted nothing which merits notice. I am fully aware that the account is imperfect: indeed, I hold it impossible to convey a correct idea of the remains of former ages by a written description, even if the account be per-

[* See note † p. 11, and note ‡ p. 51, *supra*. Also Gubbins, *infra*.]

[† There are a number of sculptured bulls (Nandi) lying among the rocks close to the temple on the south side.]

fectly accurate. Who could by such means form a just conception of the actual appearance of the ruins of ancient Persepolis, of Tadmor in the desert, of Pompeii, of the various temples in Italy, and the remains of classic elegance in Greece and the Isles of the Ægean Sea? We may indeed read of pillars, colonades, porticoes, rooms, baths, apartments, and a long list of architectural definitions; but after all, the mind possesses but an imperfect image of the originals. Pictures and drawings help the description, but personal inspection is best of all. I therefore advise you, "gentle reader," if you have it in your power, to visit these singular vestiges of antiquity at Mâmallaipur. I can promise you ample recompense for your trouble., If you have antiquarian curiosity, you may here satisfy it. If you have any disposition to moralize,—as a Christian should do,—on the end of human greatness, you will see that though here it has been attempted to "grave it in the rock for ever," it still passes away; and you will turn your thoughts from these, amongst the most durable perhaps of mortal productions, to that heavenly city which is indeed eternal.

Remarks by the Rev. W. Taylor.

The author of the foregoing paper having done me the honor of transmitting it to me for perusal and remark; and the few cursory observations made having called forth a fuller explanation of his wishes, —although I do not think myself fully able to meet them,—I offer the few following observations on the locality which is the subject of his interesting illustrations.

Marsh inundated in the rainy season
PLAN OF
MÂMALLAIPUR
(SEVEN PAGODAS)
and its neighbourhood
reduced from a large sketch by
COLONEL MACKENZIE
taken in 1808
Road to Tripetoor
Quarries
The Seven Rathas
Varaha Temple
Choultry
Quarries
Modern Temple
Pulotsava mantapam
Pavcherry
28
26

Marsh inundated in the rainy season; quite dry at other times.
Devanari
Supposed ancient Site
Salvan Goopum
Projecting Rock
Inscribed Stone
Scale of 100 200 400 600 800 yards

I. THE NAME.* This the people of the neighbourhood colloquially term *Mâvalivaram.* It is also known to natives as *Mâbalipuram,* whence I presume, it became expanded (by Mr. Goldingham if I remember aright) into *Mahâbalipuram.* More recently I observe Dr. Babington has made it *Mahâmalaipûr,* "the town of the great" (or as Dr. Babington understands it, sacred) "hill." If the said reading be actually borne out by the old Tamil inscription near one of the caves, I must submit; but without copy, or fac-simile, the accuracy of the reading may be open to doubt. There is considerable reason[a] to believe that the true reading is *Mâmallapuram;* and the true reading is of consequence.

Malla is a northern patronymic, or rather titular name of a race, like Cæsar, or the Medicis, or the Bourbons. In local papers of the Mackenzie collections, obscure but numerous indications are given of a race of chieftains bearing that surname; of whom Deva-malla-râya is most frequently mentioned. This chieftain was a (Peninsular) highlander in origin; not, properly speaking, Hindu, but of an aboriginal race. Now Deva-malla-râya indicates dignity and lineage: of which title Mâ-malla-râja, would be almost an equivalent; indicating indeed a lower rank, but quite suited as a distinctive epithet of a minor offset from the parent stem. Again in the Mackenzie

[* See Appendix.]

a According to legendary tradition, one named Mallêsudu ruled in early times. He seems not to have been a Hindu, as he mocked a Brahman, and was metamorphosed into an alligator. An appearance of Vishnu is said to have occurred. Before that appearance the place was called *Mallapuri* and *Mallapuri-kshetram,* from the above Mallêsudu. Mackenzie MSS., Book No. 33, C. M. 787, Sect. 9. This paper is in the Telugu language.

local papers, there is abundant evidence of a gradual progress of colonization by Telugu people, from proximity to the Godavery southwards, at least as far as Nellore; and various instances[b] occur in which those who first cleared forest land and began to build a town, gave their own names to the town so formed. I would not assert it as a fact, but I regard it as a probable inference, that the locality, in immediate question, derived its name from its founder, an offset, or junior branch, of the Malla chieftains in the north. I would not leave the name without noticing that in a modern Tamil poem written in the south, mention is made of the king of *Mâvalivanam:* but whether this place be designated or not, is doubtful; and I do not think such an authority could be trusted.—Quitting the name of the place we may further advert to

II. The antiquity, or probable antiquity, of the sculptures. That the antiquity is not very great may be concluded by inferential deductions; as 1. The mythology of the figures is Hindu; the general story,

b Subsequent to *Sâl. Sak.* 424, or A. D. 502, a person named Mahimalu, or Mavâlamu, left his native place owing to oppression; emigrated southerly, and built a village of four or five mud huts. It was called after the founder Mavamalûr. It increased; and by a separation of brothers at a later date Nandi-varam was founded, ultimately a town of note. Ibid. Book 49, C. M. 739.

This is merely an illustration. From a yet unpublished abstract of another paper, I find that two persons named Malla-râya and Annamadeva-râya, emigrated from Vijayanagaram to the district of Arcot, or neighbourhood of Conjeveram, and obtained some immunities from the wife, or queen, of Deva-râyar. These people were of the tribe of athletæ, proceeding from the original stock of mountaineers. I cannot identify these persons with Mâmalla-puri. At a period later than *Krishna*-râyar, there were four avenues leading from Conjeveram to distinguished towns, one of which was Mahâbalipuram, then reputed to be of Vaishnava credence.

part of that contained in the Mahâbhârata; the language of the inscriptions, at least in some places, Sanscrit: therefore Brahmans were some way concerned. But there is much concurring evidence to shew that the first immigration of Brahmans to the Peninsula was not of remote antiquity. Besides which consideration, 2. It is beyond doubt that before the time of Kulôttunga Cholan, and his illegitimate son Ado*nd*ai, the whole district bounded on the north by the Pennâr, on the south by the Pâlâr, on the east by the sea, and on the west by the ghâts, was dwelt in by half-civilized people termed Kurumbar, who had embraced the Jaina religion, brought to them from the north. Ado*nd*ai chiefly distinguished Kâñchî-puram (Conjeveram) and Tripati, as his places of residence, or capitals. The era of Ado*nd*ai is not higher up than the seventh century of our reckoning. He is said to have brought the Brahmans from *S*rî *S*ailam in Telingâna, and certainly attracted a large colony of Sudra V*e*llâ*r*as, or agriculturists, from Tuluva or northern Canara. Soon after him the kingdom, which he acquired by the sword, was broken up into petty principalities, and lapsed into a state of partial anarchy. As we can distinctly trace the founding of Vellore to a period later than Ado*nd*ai, and to colonization led on by a northern chief, so about the same period, I am inclined to think, the neighbourhood of Mâvalivaram was colonized from the north, by one of the Malla family with his clan. Besides, 3. The Inscriptions are in too perfect a state of preservation to be of remote date. As far as my knowledge extends, inscriptions, with a defined year, have not been met with, in a legible state, higher up than the

tenth century. I am aware of one or two *apparent* instances of much higher date, but with the absence of any precise year: hence inconclusive. Fragments of inscriptions in the Pân*d*ya kingdom, (the oldest one in the south,) have I believe generally been so worn as to be incapable of connected transcription. But the appearance of the chiselling at Mâvalivaram, (from the distant recollection of about fifteen years), is such that it would tax my credulity greatly to assign them a more distant date than from three to five hundred years.

If then we inquire into

III. The origin, or probable origin, of the place with its sculptures, my own judgment would lead me to fix the possible origin of the settlement at Mâvalivaram to a colonist family of the Malla tribe; subsequent to the rule of Ado*n*dai, and previous to the ascendancy of the Vijayanagaram ascendancy in the present Carnatic; that is, (loosely stated), between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries of our reckoning. In this opinion I am guided by analogy. The Bhonju family, in that manner, spread itself in a district; afterwards subject to the Gajapati princes of Orissa. The Malla family, from wild mountaineers, became powerful chieftains in Telingâna. Many families, in that way, made subordinate settlements in different village districts of the same country; and, about the period above indicated, some heads of families emigrated from the Karnâtakadesa proper, and became local chieftains; while many others at a later period, and from different causes, followed a like course. But if I am right in this inference by analogy, it does not follow that a settlement, made in a before pastoral, or waste,

country, would at once become a place of power or consequence. The same mode of argument would suggest the need of some centuries, in order to produce such a result; and we know that many mutations occur in such kind of states, when near powerful neighbours. Accordingly though the name of the founder may have continued, yet, the conquest of the South, began by *Krishna*-râya of Vijayanagaram, and completed by Achyuta-râya, probably[c] overwhelmed any such principality. Such was the case with the before local powers at Ginjee, and at Tanjore. In those places military commanders became viceroys, and their descendants, kings. And I think it probable that a chief of this latter origin from *Karnâtaka* proper, (borrowing the idea from Ellora), had the excavations and sculptures made and the inscriptions recorded; especially those in the *Hala* Kannada character and Sanscrit language:

[c] In my abstract of the Tamil manuscript entitled *Karnâtaka-râjâkal*, I do not find definite mention of such a supersession: but I think it probable from the general conquest of the neighbourhood; and suppose the district became subject to the local metropolis of Ginjee. In the paper referred to (note *a*) it is stated that Simhama-nâyadu of the Vellugâtivâru race ruled at Mâvalivaram, and employed many artificers, who resorted thither in a time of famine, in making excavations and sculptures on the hill. Following out this indication, I observe that Yachama-nâyadu and Simhama-nâyadu of that race fought a great battle and gained a victory over opposing chiefs in Sâl. Sak. 1523 (A. D. 1601). By that time the power of the Vijayanagaram sovereigns was broken; and it said the Mahommedans were concerned in the affair, in connexion with Ginjee and Vellore. The scene of combat was Ootramaloor. This period would mark another change of power superseding the supposed, or rather inferred authority of the viceroys from Vijayanagaram. And if Simhama-nâyadu subsequently employed stone-cutters in the sculptures, then we have the period fixed to the seventeenth century. It is not however absolutely necessary to suppose that all the works were begun by the same chief, or finished (in so far as finished) by the same hands.

of parts of one[d] of which Dr. Babington has given a copy and translation. If this inference approximate to truth, the works alluded to must have been accomplished in the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

These cursory remarks may be concluded with

IV. Miscellaneous observations; chiefly suggested by Dr. Babington's paper in the 2nd volume of Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society; the latest essay on the subject, of which I have any knowledge. The value of that paper seems principally to be in the plates, from drawings and inscriptions, and especially in the deciphering and translation of the latter. They prove, (as such inscriptions usually prove) very unsatisfying: for this reason perhaps, that the objects in the mind of the recorder, and in that of the archæologist, are entirely different. Of the six inscriptions at this place, to be found in a volume of the Mackenzie MSS., five are of unimportant donations, (including, if I mistake not, the Tamil one mentioned by Dr. Babington ;) and one which is of larger import, has only the name of Deva-râya[e] a clue

[d] In that incomplete inscription on the "small monolithic pagoda," neither date nor proper name of the king or chief appears. *Kâma-râja* is a mere epithet, and the other name appears to me strange and quite unusual if applied to the ruler. I throw out the conjecture that Jayarana is a Sanscrit word modified into Tamil. *Stambha* is pure Sanscrit for a post, column, or pillar. *Jaya-stambha* is of frequent usage for a triumphal column, or pillar of victory. I would render Jayarana Stambha by "the pillar of the victorious one," without however insisting on being right, because the construction is a little forced; and merely add that possibly Simhama-nâyadu may have had the pillar and the inscription cut to commemorate the victory at Ootramalcor: still however preferring the opinion before given.

[e] Connecting this note with note *b*, I think the same Deva-râya may be meant, but am not certain. There was only one (I believe)

to the date. Now this might be Achyuta-deva-râya, who was very liberal to Conjeveram: or some one later, even a local chieftain; but not, I conceive, any one of the Vijayanagaram dynasty higher up than Achyuta-râya.

The paper by Dr. Babington appears to me to contain some minor inaccuracies,[f] on which it might be trifling, or invidious, to dwell; but the supposition that the place was merely an Agrahâra, and that Brahmans procured the sculptures to be made at their own cost,—with the more astounding denial, that the sea has encroached on the Coast of Coromandel, are not of trifling import. As to the first, it contradicts all known experience, in so far only as relates to Brahmans laying out funds at their own entire control, on such sort of works. The second is a point of greater magnitude. I regard the

of the older Vijayanagaram dynasty that bore that name without any prefix. He ruled about *Sâl. Sak.* 1334, or A. D. 1412. In these dates I follow one MS. authority, without deciding that it is the best. A list with different dates may be seen in Mr. Campbell's Telugu grammar; in which also instead of simply Deva-râya we read Ganda-Deva-râya. But after *Krishna*-deva-râya all of the second dynasty bore it, with a distinctive prefix. Probability inclines to the latter period, between *S. S.* 1451 and 1508, or A. D. 1529 and 1586. Nevertheless it must not be forgotten that about A. D. 1400 the power of the Râyas has been traced at Trichinopoly and Madura, in the person of a general named Companra-udiyâr, who annihilated the remains of the first Mahomedan incursion to the southward. The state of the modern Carnatic was however too unsettled to permit the supposition of the first Deva-râya making grants or donations within its boundaries.

[f] It is not my wish to be very particular: however the statement by Dr. Babington that "the copper and stone inscriptions found..... in many parts of the country, are all in the Sanscrit language," does not agree with the mention made by himself of a Tamil inscription in or near the Varâha-*mandapam*; nor with the recent discovery of some, as is stated, Pâli inscriptions in the north. But keeping within

few data on which the denial of any encroachment of the sea is founded, as quite inconclusive; though this does not seem to be the place for their discussion, nor yet for the statement of contrary facts and arguments. It is a point on which I apprehend Dr. Babington to be at issue with truth: but beyond this mere expression of an opinion, it does not seem important further to pursue the subject, in these very cursory annotations.

Having had an opportunity of reading over these remarks after an interval of more than a year and a half, and having seen, in the interim, copies of two inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Mâvalivaram, in the Tamil language and old Tamil character, I find that the spelling therein is *Mâmallaipûr*, with two *l's*. The language is not the pure old Tamil; but the orthography is so generally correct, that the two *l's* cannot be an orthographical error; and if not, then the word does not mean *hill*. The language is comparatively modern Tamil; being much mixed with Sanscrit derivatives, which is not the case with very old Tamil. The name of Deva-râya appears; and an opinion seems to have been formed

the limits of the peninsula, the interests of truth require me to state with entire respect, while touching on the subject, that the Mackenzie papers contain many hundred *copies* of inscriptions in Canarese, Telugu, Malayalam, and Tamil; many of which I have examined, and can attest that, though copies, they are not translations. It is not an unfrequent case to find inscriptions with florid Sanscrit slokas at the beginning or end, with the real matter of fact in plainer prose of the vernacular language. The undeciphered part of the inscription given by Dr. Babington requires further attention, for its present obscurity may involve some such humbler termination.*

[* See Appendix.]

that it meant a Chola king. I cannot positively deny such an inference; nor yet another inference that similarity of character in neighbouring inscriptions, must argue identity of origin. The subject is confessedly open to variation of opinion; and inquiry would seem to be requisite before a decision can be positively made.

Supplement by Walter Elliot, Esq.

Besides the objects of interest usually visited at the Seven Pagodas, there is a spot about two miles north of Mahâmallaipûr, the sculptures and inscriptions at which will be found not unworthy of attention. Proceeding along the sea-shore towards Madras, at the distance above mentioned, a quadrangular space inclosed by mounds of considerable extent, No. 31 in the map, called by the fishermen Devanêri, will be observed. From the appearance of these mounds, added to the fact that numerous copper coins, glass-beads, and bits of iron, copper, &c., are picked up after heavy rain or high winds on their surface, it might be supposed that they indicated the site of some ancient edifice or fortification: but an excavation made in 1840, completely through one side, failed to elicit any discovery in support of such an opinion. The section was carried, through pure sand, to a depth of 20 feet, and the only extraneous substances met with were some pieces of charcoal, at different depths.

About quarter of a mile farther, near a collection of fishermens' huts, called *Sâl*uvan-Kuppam, are some remarkable rocks, standing a considerable height above the beach, and known by the name of I*d*aiyan

Pudal. One of these exhibits a niche or panel, surmounted by an arched border composed of the heads of the Simha, or fabulous lion of Hindu mythology, carved in relief; while another has been rough-hewn into the outline of the same animal. Beyond this is a stone Mandapam, or temple, almost entirely buried in the sand. Within is a Lingam. This is the site of the inscriptions referred to by Dr. Babington, in the 2nd Vol. of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, as having been sent to him by Colonel De Havilland. Of these Nos. 1 and 2 of plate 15, pronounced by Dr. Babington to be identical, are engraved on the end walls of the Mandapam on either hand of the entrance. On the frieze above the entrance likewise, occurs the word, in each of the two characters deciphered by Dr. Babington,

"ATIRANACHANDAPALLAVA."

At a little distance to the north-west of this temple, on a flat stone, (No. 32 in the map), level with the surface, occurs the following in old Tamil characters :—

ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ இச்சகதலதமானுர்க்கு மதிதவிட்டாகு மாப் பட்டியில் திருவமிதிக்கு இருமாகிலமும் திருவிளக்குக்கு கழஞ்சு பொன்னும் குடித்தது.

"Salutation! two Mâs[1] of land in Mâpatti[2] for a sufficient daily "meat offering, and a Karanju[3] of gold for maintaining a lamp, are "granted to Ijjagatala[4] Tamânâr."

About 100 yards north of the Mandapam is a mass of natural rock, (No. 33 in the map), one end of

[1] A Mâ is a 20th part, [here of a Vêli = 6·6157 acres.]

[2] Mâpatti is probably the name of a field.

[3] Karanju, an ancient weight [= about 72 grains.]

[4] Ijjagatala Tamânâr "the Lord of this world." Tamânâr should probably be Tambânâr; the title refers to Atiranachandesvara.

which is covered with a long inscription in ancient Tamil. The character, as well as that on the flat stone just mentioned, is quite different from those above alluded to; but corresponds with the one first described in Dr. Babington's paper, as "seen on a face of rock by the side of the inner entrance to the Varâhasvâmî pagoda"[5] on the south side of the hill at Mahâmallaipûr, and of which an alphabet is given in plate 13. The greater portion is buried in the sand; but in 1840 this was cleared away, and a transcript of the whole carefully made; of which the following is a translation. The original in modern characters is given at the end of this article; (marked A.)

"Salutation!

"In the presence of TIRUVÂYKÊRVI.[6]

"In the 37th year (Ându) of the reign of TRIBHUVANAVÎRADEVA, "Sovereign of the three worlds,[7] who having taken (or holding) "Madura, Îram (or Ceylon), and Karuvûr, and the crowned head of "Pândiyan, made the Vîrâbhishekam and Vijayâbhishekam, (*i. e.*, the "lustrations of heroism and victory;.....and, by the grace of "ADISANDESVARA, in the temple of SUBRAHMANYA DEVAR, in the De-"vadânam—Brahmadeyam—village[8] of Tiruvirichilûr, in the Âmur "Kôttam of the victorious Cholamandalam:

"We Andâr Tillai Nâyakar, the overseer[9] of (the temple of) SRI "MAHESVARA; Chembiya Mûvênda Vêlâr, the steward[10] of this tem-"ple; Pan Mahesvara Battan, otherwise called Âtkonda Villi Selvap-

[5] Page 263, [p. 53, *supra*.]

[6] This is read in two senses. Some explain Tiruvâkêrvi as Sarasvatî, the goddess of learning; while others read the invocation thus, May the *Âgamas* and *Vedas* be pre-eminent.

[7] Tribhuvanachakravartigal, a repetition of the King's titular name.

[8] Granted for the support of the gods and of Brahmans.

[9] Kangâni, literally a watchman or superintendent.

[10] Srîkâryam or chief servant.

"pirân, a Siva Brahman, having proprietary right[11] in this temple "and officiating in it[12]; Nârpattennâyira Battan, also named Âludaiyân "Jñânam Pettân, a Siva Brahman, having proprietary right in this "temple and officiating in it; and Tiruvirichiludaiyân, the accountant "of this temple; all of us have sold the lands, (herein undermention- "ed), and executed a deed engraved on stone, in favour of Andâr Ka- "ruppûrudaiyân Nambi Arputa Kûttar,[13] performing his adorations "in this temple. The lands, which we sold to this person because the "revenue[14] in the treasury[15] of the god has proved deficient, on "account of the decrease in the collections (or assessment[16]) of Tiruvi- "richilûr, the property of the sacred name[17] of Pillaiyâr, are as "follows:

	Kuri
"In Peri yêri Karani,	
"Adaikâdu Tenkûru	180
"Attipattam	250
"In Ûral êri Karani,	
"Âdi Mallai Nâtan Rettai Cheruvu	
"In Têngam Karavu or Arputa Kûttan,	
"Tâdcheruvu [?]	
"Uvâkkundil	
"Pâvasâni	
"In Nîrôdu Karuval	
"Chî*** Karuval	
"amounting to Kuris	2,280

11 Kâni.

12 Devarkanmi-kshetra.

13 Kûttan is still a title of the nobler class of Todavers on the Neilgherry Hills.

14 இறை. In the Saduragarâdi, the meaning of this word is given as Kudivâram, the ryot's share.

15 பண்டாரம், a sacred treasury. Hence, in the Travancore state, the terms employed for that Sircar; to intimate that the Government is under the especial protection of the deity.

16 இறைஇறுப்பு.

17 திருநாமகாணி, a respectful mode of describing the property of the god.

In Talai Sari Pâlam,

" Udaiya Nambi

" Kottamânu

" Kuditâṅgi

" Sivadâsa

" Pattavritti

" amounting to Kuris.....1,440

" Total Kuris...4,150

" Being Nilams 2, Mâ 1½.*

" This extent 2 Nilams, 1½ Mâ, and also the building site and " garden containing 400 Kuris situated to the east of Arputa Kûttan " and Uvâkkundil, we have sold to this person (aforesaid), to be his " property, and have received its value, 300 new cash, into the " Pillaiyûr's treasury, and engraved the deed (of sale) on a stone.

" Having consented (to his) irrigating these lands either naturally " or artificially, and also conveying sufficiency of water to the trees, " we engraved this on stone in favor of Karuppûrudaiyân Nambi " Arputa Kûttar.

" We, the Proprietors of this Temple, have given.

" Thus (Signed) Tillai Nâyaka.

" Thus („) Pan Mahesvara Battan, or Âtkonda Villi Selvappirân, a Siva Brahman, having hereditary right in this temple and officiating in it.

" Thus („) Âludâiyân Jñânam Pettân Nârpattennâyira Battan, a Siva Brahman, having hereditary right in this temple and officiating in it.

" Thus („) Siva [? Srî] Kâryam Chembiya Mûvênda Vêlân.

" Thus („) Tiruvirichiludaiyân, accountant of this temple.

" I, Nârpattennâyira Pillai, of Tiruppôriyûr, know this.

" I, Murichettu Nârâyana Bhattan, of Chirudâvûr, know this.

" I, Vêlân, of Chirudâvûr, Âmûr Nâttu, know this.

" I, Periândân, for Muran Kali Neri and Nekkumaravu, [? Kali Neri, Maraneri, and Marava] of Mâmbâkam, know this.

[* 144 sq. ft. = 1 Kuri, 100 Kuris = 1 Mâ, 20 Mâs = 1 Vêli, or Nilam —See note 1, p. 120, *supra*.]

"I, Kurôvi Donaya Battan, of Paiyanûr, know this.

"I, Mayindi Kuri [Nârâyana] Battan, [of Paiyanûr] know this.

"I, Vishamûr Kiravan, know this.

"I, Âmûr Nâttu Vêlân, of Mâmallapuram, know this.

"I, Kuvalaikkanni Maya Kirân Vichan, [? Mâmbâkirân Vichâsiran.] Warden of the Pillaiyâr temple, know this.

The inscription appears to be an ancient deed of sale, and its importance in this place depends on the means it affords of obtaining some clue to the date at which it was made, and which Dr. Babington hopes may yet be obtained from the similar Varâhasvâmî Sâsanam. That however given in the commencement is only the ându, or year of the reign of one of the Chola Princes, the exact chronology of which dynasty is yet to be ascertained. There is, however, another inscription, of an ascertained date, at the neighbouring hamlet of Pavarakkâran's Choultry, engraven on a stone under a large Pîpal tree, near the steps on the south side of the tank, the characters of which are precisely the same as those of the Sâluvan Kuppam rock and the temple of Varâhasvâmî; who appears moreover to have been the common divinity of all three villages. It is as follows: (vide the original, in modern characters, marked B.)

"Prosperity! at the holy time of the Makara Saûkrama, on Wed-
"nesday, the 5th in the constellation of Uttiratâdi, in the Brahma
"yoga, in the Bâlavâkarana, in the light fortnight of the month of
"Makara, in the cycle year Manmatha, and Saka year 1157, when
"Srîman Mahârâjâdhirâja Parameswara Srî Vîra Pratâpa Vikrama
"Deva Mahârâyar ruled over the earth, (on that occasion,) Tiruveñ-
"gala Nâyakar gave the piece of land surrounding the Mandapam,
"dedicated by Timmappa, for the halting place at the festivals of
"Pâdivêttai of Perumâl Âdivarâha Jñâna Pirân, the deity of [the three
"villages] of Pûñjêri, Tirupârkadal, and Mahâmallaipuram, extend-

" ing over 1,000 Vêlis* of land, in the Vadakanâdu,† of the Kôttam of " Âmûr, in the Victorious Cholamandalam.—This piece of land, and " the salt pan in Kûttapâkam, called Vîraya Pâmban, have been " given so long as the moon endures for the Pâdivêttai Tirunâl of " this deity. Additions may be made to this donation. May this " charity be continued so long as the moon endures! Let the " hidden treasures, waters, minerals, and every thing which the " land or the salt pan contain within their limits, become the pro- " perty of this deity. Any person that injures this charity, will incur " the guilt of having killed a cow on the banks of the Ganges. The " Kâniyâlars, (or Proprietors of the land), Sengalangamâr, Nayina Mu- " daliyâr, and Vayirava Nayinâr, have affixed their signatures to this " gift. Thus also Paiyanûrudaiyân Uttamaprâyan Annappan, the " village accountant has signed. May prosperity continue!"

Who Vikrama Deva was, does not appear; but he may have been a local officer, perhaps a feudatory or governor under the Cholas; which dynasty shortly afterwards gave way to that of the Râyas of Vijayanagaram (Bijanagar.) The Sâlivâhana year 1157, corresponding with A. D. 1235, however, gives a tolerable approximation to the Era of the Tamil inscriptions; which, as connected with the worship of Vishnu under the form of the Boar incarnation, and the representation of the same subject in one of the caves, (plate 5 of Dr. Babington), affords also some clue to the period at which the sculptures were executed. A further guide to the eras of both the Tamil and Nâgarî inscriptions may be obtained by combining and comparing some scattered notices obtained in other inscriptions.

An inscription at Dhâravaram in Rajahmundry shews that a Vîra Chola Deva‡ was reigning in *S. S.*

* [* See note 1, p. 120, *supra*.] † Northern District.

‡ He also bore the titles of Kulôttunga, which seems to have been adopted by several Chola princes; of the 7th Vishnu Varddhana; and of Tribhuvana Malla in other inscriptions from the same district. See MS. Catalogue of the McKenzie inscriptions.

1001 or A. D. 1079. His name too occurs in the best authenticated lists of the Chola dynasty. I have no doubt that this is the prince above alluded to. The grant would, therefore, be in 1038, or about a century anterior to that of Pavarakkâran's Choultry.

That these Tamil inscriptions were posterior to the formation of the Atichandesvara Mandapam, the *Rathas* and the temple cut out of a single mass of rock, (from which Dr. Babington copied the Kâmarâja inscription,) is established by the invocation of Adisandesvar,* the tutelary deity of Tiruvirichilûr, in the inscription on the rock.

In a copy of a Grant at Pithâpûr, in my possession, Vijayâditya, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalinga, about the middle of the 6th century,† is described as "destroying the southern "King Trilochana Pallava, and, through the decree of "Fate, losing his life in that country." From the title Pallava it may be inferred that this chief was of the same race and probably the same family as Kâmarâja, surnamed Jayaranastambha (the pillar of successful war), and Atiranachanda Pallava.

Another inscription, engraved on a set of copper plates, (in the possession of Mahendra Shanta, a Jain Guru at Hyderabad,) and of an era 60 or 70 years later, contains the following passage :—

* Adisandesvara must be identical with "Atiranachandesvara," the Lingam set up by Atiranachanda. See Dr. Babington, Trans. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. II., p. 267, [p. 59, *supra*.]

In Tamil, the ச pronounced "ta" at beginning of a word, and "da" in the middle, is identical with the Grantha and Nâgarî "ta"; and ச is the only Tamil equivalent for the Nâgarî "cha," ["sa," and "sa."]

† About *S. S.* 475 or A. D. 553.

"Having conquered in battle, the hostile kings in the different "quarters, &c., he acquired the names of Paramesvara and Vikramâ- "ditya.* Moreover, Pallava Mardu was overcome by this Lord Srî "Vallabha, who annihilated the renown of Narasimha, surpassed the "valour of Mahendra, and excelled Isvara in affability. He has justly "assumed the title of Srî Vallabha, being in the unprecedented pos- "session of Kâñchî, as it were the loosened zone (kâñchî) of the "Nymph of the south. He is also rightly entitled to the name of Râja- "malla, having secured his acquisition by his large and strong arms, "and conquered the chief (Pâlaka) of the Mahâmalla race."

From these facts it may be inferred, that the rulers of Mâmallaipura were in a state of independence in the 6th and beginning of the 7th centuries. We know from other sources that the Chola Kings reduced Toṇḍamaṇḍalam about the 7th century.† At that time it was parcelled out among a number of petty chiefs of the Kurumbar race,‡ who with their followers were almost entirely extirpated by the Cholas. The family that possessed Mâmallaipura was probably one of the principal of these. The excavations therefore could not well have been made later than the 6th century. Neither could they have been much earlier, for the forms of the letters both Grantha and Nâgarî do not justify the supposition of a higher antiquity.§

Under the Chola dynasty we find Tamil invariably employed as the character of inscriptions.

* This refers to one of the early Chalukya kings of Kalyân, who is described in the beginning of the copper plates as son of Satya Srîya, grandson of Kîrti Varma and great grandson of Pulikesi. His era was about *S. Saka* 543, corresponding with A. D. 620. The Kalinga and Kalyân dynasties were collateral branches of the same race.

† Ellis in Trans. Mad. Lit. Soc. p. 19.

‡ 2nd Report on the McKenzie MSS. by the Rev. W. Taylor, p. 86. [Madras] Journal VII., p. 311.

§ See Prinsep's comparative table of Hindu alphabets.

Whether all the temples were excavated by the Pallavas seems questionable. They were evidently worshippers of *Siva*. Many of the subjects, particularly those in plates 2, 5, 7, 10 of Dr. Babington's paper, belong to the Vaish*n*ava creed, which is more particularly referred to in the inscription at Pava-*r*akkâran's Choultry, and is known to have been of later origin. It is not improbable; therefore, that these may have been the work of more recent devotees, emulous of the fame of Kâmarâja and Atira*n*acha*nda* Pallava.

In the possession of the Pujâri of the modern temple is a deed in Telugu, engraved on copper plates connected by a ring, with the figure of a boar and a sword on the seal, purporting to be a grant of the village of Nelatûr to Kesavârya Srî Rangâchârya by Venka*t*apati *S*rîdevarâya in the *S*aka year 1532, Plava Sa*n*vatsara.

A.

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ-திருவாய்க்கேழ்வி முன்பாக ஸ்ரீஸுவநு ஷுக்ர வதி-ஷ் கள் முதுளையுமீழமும் கருஷுரும் பாண்டியன் மூடித் தலையும் கொண்டு வீரஅஹிஷெகமும் விஜய அஹிஷெகமும் பண்ணியருளிய ஸ்ரீஸுவநவீர ஷெவற்குயாண்டு - ரூயெ-வ து-ஜயங்கொண்டசோழமண்டலத்தாமூர்க்கோட்டத்து ஷெவ தானம்ஸ்ரஹ்ஹ ஷெயம திருவிழிச்சிலூருடைய ஸு-ஸ்ரீஸுணு ஷெவர்கோயில்.ஹுஷிஸுணைஸ்வரஷெவரருளால் இக்கோய்ல்ஸ்ரீஷ ஷெஹஸ்ரஸகங்காணி ஆண்டார்நில்லைநாயகரும்ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ்செ ம்பிய மூவேஞவேளாருமிக்கோயில் காணியுடைய சிவஸ்ரா ஹ்மணன் ஷெவர்கன்மிஷெஷத்திரத்துஹுட்கொண்டவில்லிசெ ல்வப்பிராஞனபன்மஷெஹஸ்ரபட்டனு மிக்கோயில் காணியு

டையசிவ஬்ராஹ்மணன்தேவர்கன்மிகெஹத்திரத்து ஆருடையா
ன் ஞாநம்பெற்முனை நாற்பத்தெண்ணுயிரபட்டனும் – கோ
யில் கணக்கு திருவிழிச்சிலுடையானும் – இவ்வனைவோரு மி
க்கோயிலில் கும்பிட்டிருக்கும் ஆண்டார் கருப்பூருடையா
ன்பி அற்புத கூத்தற்கு நிலமிலை வரோ ணம் பண்ணி கல்
வெட்டி குடுத்த பரிசாவது பிள்ளோயார் திருநாம காணியாக
திருவிழிச்சில் உள்ளூரில் இறை இறுப்பு அரிதாய ஸ்ரீபண்
டாரத்தில்தட்டிறை இறுக்கையால் நாங்கள் இவர்க்கு விற்று
குடுத்த நிலமாவது – பெரியேரி கழனியில் அடைகாடுதென்
கூறு – து ா அய் ம் – அத்திப் பட்டங் து – ஊருய் ம் – ஊ
றல் ஏரிகழனியிலாகிமல்லை நாதனும் – சொட்டை செறவும்
தேங்கமகழுவலுமான அற்புதகூத்தனும் – உவாகுண்டிலும்–
பாவசாரியும் நீரோடுகழுவலும். சீ * * * கழுவலும் – ஆ து –
உதஉா அய் – தலைசரிப்பாளத்தில் உடைய நம்பியும் – கொற்
றமானும் – குடிதாங்கியுஞ் – சிவதாசனும் – பட்டவிருத்தி
யும் – ஆ து – தூசாசாய் – ம் – ஆ து – சதாருய் – னல் –
நிலம் – உடஅ – இந்நிலம் – இரண்டே ஒருமாவரையும் – அ
ற்புதகூத்தனுக்கும் – உவாக்குண்டிலுக்குங் கிழக்குமனையும்–
உள்படப்பையும் – து சா ம்–இவர்க்கு காணியாக பெறும்
விலைக்குவிற்று பிள்ளோயார் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்துக்கு கைக்கொட்
புதுக்காசு – ஈஉ – இக்காசு மூன்றுற்றுக்கும் – விலைக்குற
விற்று கல்வெட்டிக் குடுத்தோமிந்நிலங்களுக்கு நீர்பாய வே
ண்டுவதும் – இறைக்கக்கடவதும் – ஏரிகளிலே நீர்பாய வே
ண்டுங் கொத்த நீர்பாயவும் இப்படிக்குச் சம்மதித்து கருப்பூ
ருடையானம்பி அற்புதகூத்தர்க்கு கல்வெட்டி குடுத்தோம்.
இக்கோயில் ஓஉாநததோம் – இப்படிக்கு இவை தில்லை நாய
கன் எழுத்து – இப்படிக்கு இவை இக்கோயில்காணி உடைய
சிவ஬்ராஹ்மணன்கெஹத்திரத்து ஆட்கொண்ட வில்லிசெல்வ
பிராமண பன்மாவெஹ்ஹரபட்டன் எழுத்து – இப்படிக்கு இ
வைகோயில் காணியுடைய சிவ஬்ராஹ்மணன் கெஹத்திரத்து
ஆருடையான் ஞாநம் பெற்முனை நாற்பத்தெண்ணுயிரபட்
டன்எழுத்து – இப்படிக்கு இவை சிவகாரியம் செம்பியமூ
வேஹ வேளான் எழுத்து – இப்படிக்கு இவை கோயில் க

ணக்கு திருவிழிச்சிலுடையான் எழுத்து—இப்படி அறிவே
ன் திருப்போரியூர் நாற்பத்தெண்ணாயிர பிள்ளையோன் – இப்
படி அறிவேன் சிறுதாவூர் மூலிச்செட்டு நாராயணஷட்டனே
ன் – இப்படி அறிவேன் சிறுதாவூர் ஆமூர்நாட்டு வேளானே
ன் – இப்படி அறிவேன் மாம்பாக்கிழான் கலினெறிக்கு மற
னெறிக்குமறவுக்கு பெரியாண்டானேன் – இப்படி அறிவேன்
பையனூர் குரோவி ஒ ணையபட்டனேன் – இப்படி அறி
வேன் பையனூர்மயிந்திருறி நாராயண பட்டனேன் – இப்ப
டி அறிவேன் விசமூர்கிழவனேன் – இப்படி அறிவேன் மாமல்
ல புரத்தோரில் ஆமூர்நாட்டுவேளானேன் – இப்படி அறிவே
ன் இப்பிள்ளையார் தேவதருமகுலோக் கண்ணிமாம்பாக்கிழா
ன் விச்சாசிரனேன்.

B.

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ மன் மகாராசாதிராச்பரமேஸ்வரஸ்ரீவீரப்பி
ரதாப விக்கிரம தேவமகாராயர் பிறுதிவிராச்சியம் பண்ணிய
ருளாகின்ற – சகாப்தம் – தூறுயிள – மேற்செல்லாகின்ற ம
ன்மதவருஷத்து மகரநாயற்று பூறுவபக்ஷத்து பஞ்சமியும் –
புதவாரமும் – உத்திரட்டாதியும் – பிறம்மயோகமும் – பாலவ
கரணமும் பெற்ற – மகரசங்கறம புண்ணியகாலத்திலே – செ
யங்கொண்டசோழமண்டலத்து – ஆமூர் கோட்டத்து – வட
கரைநாட்டு ஆயிரவேலிப்பற்று ஆன பூஞ்சேரி திருப்பார்க்கடல்
மகாமல்லபுரத்து பெருமாள் – ஆதிவராகம் – ஞானப்பிரான்
பாடிவேட்டை திருநாள் எழுந்தருளுகிற மண்டபம் சூழ்நாற்
பாற்கெல்லையும் திம்மப்பனல் சாதனமாகவும் – சுவாமி இற
ங்குவதற்குதானமாகவும் – இங்கிலங்கூத்தபாக்கத்தில் வீரயப்
பாம்பன் – ஆளம் – ஒன்றும் – இந்தப்பெருமாளுக்கு பாடி
வேட்டை திருநாள் ஆசந்திரஸ்தாயியாக இந்தத்தற்மம் விருத்
தியாய் தானமாகத் திருவேங்களநாயக்கன் விட்டதன்மம் – ஆ
சந்திரஸ்தாயியில் நடக்கக்கடவதாகவும் – இந்த நாற்பாற்கெல்

லயிலும் - இந்த ஒரு ஸளத்திலும் - உண்டான இந்தநிகே பஜலபாஷாண சகலசமுதாயப் பிராப்த்தியும் - இந்த ஞானப் பிராணுக்கே செல்லக்கடவதாகவும் - இந்த தன்மத்துக்கு - அ க்கிரமம்பண்ணினவன் - கெங்கைக்கரையிலே கபிலப்பசுவை வதைத்த தோஷத்திலே போகக்கடவாராகவும் - இந்த தன்ம த்துக்கு காணியாளர் - செங்கல்ங்கமார். ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீயார்-வ யிரவஸ்வினர் எழுத்து. இப்படிக்கு ஊர்க்கணக்கு பையனூ ருடையான் உத்தமபிராயன் அன்னப்பன் எழுத்து - ஸுபமஸ்து.

V.—*On the Inscription near the Varâhasvâmî Temple, at Mâmallaipuram or the Seven Pagodas, with a transcript and translation.* [By Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I.]

[From the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XIII. 1844.]

THE above-mentioned inscription is cut in a niche, on the face of the rock against which the modern pagoda is built. The eastern side of the building abuts on the niche, about one-fourth of which is in consequence covered by the wall, and a considerable portion of the writing is thereby hidden from view. The circumstances under which the transcript was made, will be found in the Proceedings of the Committee of the Literary Society of the 6th July 1844, at the end of this No. [31]. Three copies of the inscription were made by three different parties, which were collated by Tândavarâya Mudaliyâr, the learned Principal Sadr Amîn of Chingleput, who also supplied a Telugu paraphrase of the whole, by the aid of which the present translation has been prepared.

Svasti *Srî*!

In the 9th ânda of Koppara-kesari-varma, also called Udaiyâr *Srî* Râjendra Devar, who having taken the whole Irattaippâdi seven lakhs and a half, having intimidated Âhava-Malla in battle amid the pitfal (koppam) of his army, seized upon his elephants and horses, and performed lustrations of victory, when he deigned to sit upon his throne;—the citizens of Jananâthapura which is Mâmallapura the

chief city of Âmûrnâd in Âmûrkotta in the prosperous Cholamandalam, (Sôramandalam) and we the inhabitants of Pêrilam, do record that the eastern boundary of the land which we have granted for Âlvâr (Âṛvâr)* in the temple of Paramesvara Mâhavarâha Vishnu in our village, inclusive of the land formerly held free of tax, as *Devadânam*, lies west of Sikuttichêri—its southern boundary is the north side of Vayalurân kannâr nilam, belonging to Mahâvishnu in this village,—its western boundary is the vast (shore of the) back-water (or creek)—and its northern boundary (reaches to the) south side of the temple of Mâmallai Perumâl and to the fresh water well on the south-east of the Kônêri—we have granted to the Devar as *Devadânam*, free of tax, all the lands within these four limits, over which the guana has run and the tortoise has crawled, inclusive of *nîr nilams* and *punjey nilams*, setting apart four *tadis*† of land with trees and arable fields within this tract, for the expenses of meat-offerings (*bali*) to the deity, and determining that from the produce of the remaining *nîr nilams*, one *padakku*‡ and four *nâris*§ of paddy, which at the rate of two-fifths are (or yield) one *kuRuni*¶ of rice, shall be set apart for the offerings of food to the Devar for the two *sandhis* or stated periods of worship at four *nâris* of rice for a *sandhi*—and also one *kuRuni* of paddy for two *sandhis* at four *nâris* for a *sandhi*—for two sorts of *kaRis* (or meats) for each *sandhi*, two and a half *sevidas*‖ of ghee, one *uri*** of curds, *adaikkâya* consisting of two areca nuts and eight beetle leaves for a *sandhi*, in all three *kuRunis*

* This Âlvâr is still worshipped by the Vaishnava sect under the name of Bhûta, in the following invocation:

తులాశ్రవిష్ఠాసంభూతం భూతం కల్లోలమాలినః।
తీరే ఫుల్లోత్పలాన్మల్లాపుర్యామీడే గదాంశకం॥††

"I adore Bhûta who from a portion of Vishnu's Club, was born in a blue lotus at Mallâpurî on the sea-shore, under the sign of the Balance in the constellation of the Dolphin."

[† *Lit.* "rods." 1 square rod = 1 *kuri*.—See note * p. 123, *supra*.]

‡ Two *marcals*, [*marakkâl*.]

§ A *padi* or measure, [= in different localities, from 50 to upwards of 100 cubic inches, the present standard Government measure,] the [fourth, fifth, sixth or] eighth part of a *marcal*.

¶ A *marcal*.

‖ A *sevida* is the 120th part of a *padi* or measure.

** Half *padi* or measure.

[†† तुलाश्रविष्ठासंभूतं भूतं कल्लोलमालिनः।
तीरे फुल्लोत्पलान्मल्लापुर्यामीडे गदांशकं॥]

and four *nâris* of paddy for two *sandhis* should be paid, and that the people who cultivate the lands, and the people in the Madavilâgam* of this Devar shall not be subjected to the payment of any tax.—I wrote at the desire of the citizens of Mâmallapura or Jananâthapura and the people of Pêrilam—signed: Tiruverichiludaiyâr Tondan Âdavalân—Karnattân of this village; this is my writing.

This is Olinâgan Mâdaiyân Aragiya Chola the Âmûr-nâttu Mûvêndavêlân's writing.

This is Olinâgan Chandrasekara's signature.

This is Olinâgan Nârâyana's signature.

This is Kalatturân Sûtti Araisan's signature.

This is Konandai Sîrâlan Setti's signature.

This is Indipuravan Saṅganâgan's signature.

This is Mâppûdi Nârâyanan Mâdakkali's signature.

This is Mâppûdi Ammôdi Ârâva Murti's signature.

This is Uchâṅkiravan Mugalinâgan's signature.

This is Vandârañchêri Udaiyân Arayan Pichan's signature.

The person who molests this charity will incur the sins of having committed capital crimes on the banks of the Ganges and at Kumari.

Svasti Srî!

In the 9th ându of Koppara-kesari-varmar (or) Udaiyâr Srî Râjendra Devar when, having taken Irattaipûdi of the whole seven lakhs and a half, having intimidated Âhava-Malla midst the pitfal of his troops, having seized upon his elephants and horses, and having performed lustrations of victory,—he deigned to sit on his mighty throne; we the inhabitants of Tiruverichi, the *Devadânam* and *Brahmadeyam* (village) in Âmurnâd of Âmûrkotta in the prosperous Cholamandalam, do write—that the eastern boundary of the lands which we are to grant as *Devadânam* free of rent, for the Âlvâr in the temple of Srî Paramesvara Mahâvarâha Vishnu, in Mâmallapuram or Jananâthapura the chief city of this Nâd lies west of Kommadikundil in the road to the tank Vannakkanêri—the southern boundary (of it) is the north of Pallacheruvu or the land called Kalatturân paramana mugali—the western boundary (of it) is east of the field (called) Sâtturân Chandra Sekara kirama vittan—and the northern boundary (of it) south to the field (called) Kariyan semme mettan kunavan. We have granted for this Devar, the three hundred kuris of the land (named) Esamennu within this boundary as *Devadânam* free of rent, together with the water to irrigate this land from the tank Vannakkanêri and also the water channel.—We are to free the cultivators of this land from the payment of the principal

* The establishment or inmates of the temple.

(*peruvari* or *ayin*) and sundry (*silavari* or additional) taxes—and also from forced labour, (*vetti*) and the carrying of burdens and pounding of grain for the food of persons of all descriptions. Thus having agreed, we have granted (this) as *Devadânam* free of rent.

I, Bhâradvaji Âdavalân, a Siva Brahman of Karpâkkam in this Nâd, wrote this at the request of the inhabitants of Tiruvorichi. This is my writing.

This is the writing of Pâdâyakkiram vittan.

This is the writing of Devaganâta pattan of this *kshetram*.

This: Sâtandai mallan sanagan.

* * * * (effaced.)

* * * * Olinâgan Nârâyanan.

This is my writing, * * * *

This * * * * of this *kshetram*.

* * * * * Pattan.

I know, this is the writing of Arumbakirân Kâri Irâman, Mûvêndavêlân of Âmûrnâd in the prosperous Cholamandalam.

This is the writing of Tonda Âdavalân the Karnattân of this village.

In this ându, Olinâgan Mâdaiyân, Mûvêndavelân of Âmûrnâd, granted 90 goats, for a lamp to be kept always burning.

Kâmakôdan selavan, &c.

The remainder is defaced.

Two grants to the same temple are here recorded, both made in the same year but by different parties. The opening sentence of both is word for word the same, and constitutes the most important portion of the deeds; possessing a double value both as affording the means of ascertaining the exact date of the Tamil inscriptions at Mâmallaipuram, and as a historical record confirming in a remarkable manner, a fact of some importance ascertained from totally distinct sources. In a paper on the Chalukya Princes of Kalyân in the Dakhan published in the IVth Vol. of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and republished in Vol. VII. p. 193 of this Journal, it is stated on the authority of an inscription at Anigiri in the Dhârwâr district, that Somesvara Devâ Chalukya I., surnamed Âhava

Malla had been invaded by the Chola Râjâ who had ravaged the southern provinces of Kuntala-desa, and destroyed the city of Pulikara-nagara, the modern Lakshmeśvar near Savanûr. The Chalukya inscription asserts that Âhava Malla defeated and slew the invader, and there is no doubt the invasion was ultimately repelled. But enough is admitted to show that it had been in the first instance eminently successful. The present inscription evidently refers to the same fact, and there is no doubt that Vîra Râjendra Chola, surnamed Koppara-Kesari-Varma is the Chola Râjâ above referred to. This is further confirmed by other inscriptions of this same prince, on the magnificent temple at Gangondaram, on the north bank of the Cavery, of which he appears to have been the founder. One of these, in the 15th year of his reign, runs thus, "Ko-Virâja-Kesari Varma named Râjendra Deva, wielding the sceptre with valour for a companion and munificence for an ornament, freeing himself from the blackest sins, having intimidated Âhava Malla of Kudala Sangama, having vanquished the Vikkilan and Singalan,* and taken their queens with their effects and carriages, and having a second time terrified Âhava Malla in battle; having also recovered Venginâdu and fulfilled the vows of his elder brothers, &c." In a subsequent grant in the same temple he is described as "having perpetuated his fame in the northern country which he conquered, &c."

The kingdom of Kalyân had not long before been rescued from foreign enemies by the great grand-

* The Singalan must refer to the King of Ceylon.

father of Somesvara Deva I., and may not have been yet fully re-established, thereby inviting the attacks of its southern neighbours, who were then in the height of their power. The inscriptions of the father of Somesvara Deva I. named Jayasimha, show that he also was at war with the Cholas, but their differences must have ceased with the contest recorded in the present inscription, for the youngest son of Somesvara Deva,—Vikramâditya II. was the most powerful sovereign, not only of his race but of his time, and ruled over an enlarged and extensive kingdom for 52 years, in the numerous extant inscriptions of which, no mention occurs of a Chola war. On the other hand, the Cholas had attained their greatest prosperity at the period of the inscription, in the time of Vîra Râjendra Chola, whose father Râja Râja Narendra, acquired possession of the whole of Telingâna, by intermarriage with the eastern branch of the Chalukya family, sovereigns of Vegidesam, and left to his son a kingdom, extending along the coast from the mouth of the Godâvarî to Râmesvaram, and inland probably over the greatest part of the southern provinces of this Presidency.

The next point is to identify the era of Vîra Râjendra Chola with that of Somesvara Deva I, surnamed Âhava Malla. The latter has been ascertained with tolerable precision in the paper above referred to, and is shown from a comparison of several inscriptions, to be from about *S. S.* 962 to 991.* By a valuable inscription recently procured, I find

* Madras Journal, Vol. VII., p. 196.

that Râjendra Chola succeeded his father Râja Râja Chola in *S. S.* 986, and the same authority shows that he still continued reigning in *S. S.* 1001. It is clear therefore that he was not killed in the action with Somesvara Deva. But besides that the metaphorical language of the inscription does not imperatively require such a rendering, it is very possible that Râjendra Chola may not have commanded in person, but may have intrusted the expedition to one of his generals who, as shewn by numerous inscriptions of that age, were in the habit of assuming the family name of the sovereigns under whom they served. The date of the inscription, the 9th of his reign, would therefore be *S. S.* 995 or A. D. 1073. The battle of Lakshmesvar must have occurred very shortly after his accession, for the Gangondaram inscription already quoted is dated in the 5th of his reign. The synchronism therefore of the three records is perfect.

The last object of inquiry is the identity of the places referred to as the scene of the war. The term Irattaippâdi used in both the Chola grants, does not occur in any of the Dakhan inscriptions that I recollect. It may, however, have been the familiar term for Kuntala-desa in the south. Instances of such diversity of nomenclature are not uncommon. In the Dakhan, at this day the Tamil country and people are invariably called Konga-des and Kongas. At Malacca and by the Malays generally, the people of Southern India pass under the name of Klings, from the ancient Kalinga. Now we know that a powerful race, the Ratta Kula, originally overcome by the Chalukyas and held in subjection for several centuries, again obtained the ascendancy about the

9th century, and were finally subdued by Tailapa Deva Chalukya, the great grandfather of Âhava Malla in *S. S.* 895 or A. D. 973. Among the titles of Âhava Malla himself, we find an indication of the more recent independence of the Rattas. In an inscription at Nilgund in the Dambal Taluk of the Dhârwâr district, he is described as "possessing the lofty golden parasol and the whole territory that had belonged to the Rattakula chief, Srî Vîra Mârtanda." A distinguished family of this Rattakula, likewise flourished at Parsghur and Samdatty in the Dhârwâr district under the Chalukya dynasty, and a considerable town yet exists under the name of Rattehalli on the Wardah, about 30 or 40 miles south of Lakshmesvar.

In the Gangondaram inscription, the Chalukya prince is designated as Âhava Malla of the Kadal Sangama. This is the name of the junction of the Tungâ with the Bhadrâ river near Huli Honore, where is situated the Matham of a celebrated Guru of the Smârta sect, usually called the Kudalgi Svâmî.*

There is good reason to believe, therefore, that "Irattaippâdi" was the name applied by the Tamilians to the southern province, at least of the Chalukya empire, and even to suppose that it was used to signify the whole kingdom. This opinion is strengthened by the use of the expression "the whole 7½ lakhs." In the same inscription that gives

* There are two Mathams of the Sankara Bhâratî or Smârta sect in this neighbourhood—Sringeri and Kudalgi, besides another at Sankesvar, near Kolapûr.

the history of the union of the eastern Chalukya and Chola families, it is stated that the first founder of the former race, descended from the rulers of Ayodhyâ, "having conquered Kadamba Ganga and other earthly rulers, reigned over the southern country of 7½ lakhs from Narmadâ to Setu" and elsewhere, similar references are made to the 7½ lakhs dominion of the Kalyân kingdom. This evidently refers to the kingdom of Kuntala-desa only, of which Kalyân was the capital; for that of Kalinga or Vegidesam* was the subsequent acquisition of a collateral branch. What the number 7½ lakhs refers to is not clear. In all the inscriptions of that era, territorial divisions are designated by a number unaccompanied by any explanation of the objects to which it refers. Thus the Kadamba family which became a feudatory to the Kalyân Chalukyas, are always described as lords of the Banawassi 12,000. It may refer to the number of villages or townships, to their revenue, or to the quota of troops the chief was bound to bring into the field.

The inferences bearing on the local history of the Seven Pagodas to be drawn from the preceding inscription are the following. The era of the oldest Tamil inscription is clearly fixed at the latter part of the 11th century, and that previously assigned to the rock *sâsanam* of Sâluvan Kuppam is confirmed. For Vîra Chola Deva surnamed Tribhuvana Malla is shown by the same inscription as that which gives the date of Vîra Râjendra Chola, to have been the second son of that prince, and to have been

* For a notice of Vegidesam or Vengidesam, see Journal Vol. xi, p. 304.

nominated by him viceroy of Teliṅgana in *S. S.* 1001, (A. D. 1079) which would place the execution of the rock inscription stated to have been cut in his 36th year, in the beginning of the 12th century or *S. S.* 1037, corresponding with A. D. 1115. Further, it is evident from the facts of the grant to Âlvâr, in the temple of Parameśvara Mahâ-varâha Vishṇu, and the subsequent mention of the temple of Mâmallai Perumâl, that the more modern creed of the Vaishṇava sect had been established, and that of the Śaiva subverted. Lastly, the place appears to have borne the name of Jananâthapuram in addition to that of Mâmallaipuram, which it is remarkable is invariably here written Mâmallapuram. [மாமல்லபுரம்.]

In the Appendix to Mr. Ellis' treatise on Mîrâsî rights, a copy and translation of the Śâluvan Kuppam inscription will be found, which, had it been known at the time, would have rendered the publication of that given in a former part of this volume (p. 47)* unnecessary. The two documents agree pretty nearly, but Mr. Ellis seems to have had a less accurate transcript, than the one prepared for me, which was obtained from two copies made by different individuals acquainted with the ancient character, and these were carefully collated by Tândavarâya Mudaliyâr. Mr. Ellis has also inserted at the same place a version of the few initial half-lines of the Varâhasvâmî inscription, but these were evidently too imperfect to give the true sense. He, however, agrees in referring the local chiefs antecedent to the Cholas to the Kurumbar race, though he

[* P. 121, *supra*.]

errs in supposing (Âhava) Malla to have been one of them.

The Seven Pagodas have received a greater degree of attention from their vicinity to Madras, than they otherwise would have obtained.* The repeated notice that has in consequence been bestowed on them, has thus brought together almost everything of interest connected with them, and the curious visitor is thus furnished with data, from which to form his own opinion of their age, origin, and object.

* Heyne's Tracts XXI. p. 333.

முதற்சாஸநம்.

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ இரடடைபபாடி யெழுரை யிலகமுங்கொணடு பொரிறறஙகணகளகொபபததாஹவமலலனை யளுசுவிததவனு னையுங குதிரையுங கைகளகொணடு விஜயாஹிஷகளுசெயது வீரஸிஹாஸநதது வீறறிருநதருளிய கொபபர கெளரிவர் மானஉடையாரஸ்ரீராஜேந்ரதெவாகளுயாணடுஒனபதாவது ஜயஙகொணடசோழமணடலதது ஆமூரகொடடதது ஆமூர நாடடு நகரமாமலலபுரமான ஜங்நாதபுரதது நகரதாமும்பெரிளமையோமும எழுதது எஙகளுஸ்ரீவரமெஸ்வரமஹா வாஹவிஷ்ணுஸ்ரீ ஹதாழவாகளுத தேவதாந இறையிலியாகமுனபுடைய நிலமுட்படகொடுதந நிலதுகளுகீழபா

றகெலலீ சிகருடடிசசேரிகருமேறகும தெனப்பாறகெலலீ ஊரகமுடையமமயாவிஷ்ணுகள நிலமானவயலுழான் கண ணூறறுகருவடகரும மெலபாறகெலலீ கழிகருகிழகரும வடபாறகெலலீ மாமலலீபபெருமான் கோயிலுக்கும கோ னெரிததெனகீழைததண்ணீரகிணறறுகருமதெறகுமஆகஇந நாறபேரெலலீகரும நடுவுபடட நீரநிலமுமபுனசெயநிலமும உளளிடடு உடுமபோடி ஆமைதவழநதெவக்கபபடட நில முமஇறையிழிசசி இநநிலமிததெவாகரு தேவதாந இறையி லியாகவும இநநிலதது்ளமாமபுல முளளிடடகணணூறறுதடிநா லும ஸ்ரீபலிபபடடியாகவுமநீகிகினறந நீரநிலதது்பபொக்கு கொணடு இததெவாகருளநதியொனறுகருதநிருவமுது அரிசி நாலுழியாகஸநதியிரணடுகரிசி குறுணிகரு ஐஞசாணடாக நெலலுபதகருநாநாலுழியுஸ்நதியொனறுகருகரிய முதிா ணடுமநெயமுது இருசெவிடடையுமதயிரமுது உரியும அடை ககாயமுது-வெறறுங்காயிரணடும இலையமுது எடடுகருமநெல லுநாலுழியாக ஸநதியிரணடுகருநெலலு குறுணியும ஆகஸந திபிரணடுகரு நெலலுமுகருறுணிநாலுழியாக-நீமநதரு செல வதாகவும இநநிலமுழுநருடிகளீயும இததெவர்மடவிளாகத திருபபாளையமளபபொபபடட இறையுமகாடடபபெறறொ மாகவும இபபரிசு இசைநது தெவதாந இறையிலியாகவுக்கா டுததொம. மாமலபுரமான ஜஙகாதபுரதது நகாததொமும பெரிளமையோமும இவாகளசொலல எழுதினென. இவ லூர்காணததான திருவெழிசசிலுடையான தொணடன ஆட வலானென இவையெனனெழுதது. இவை ஒளிஙகனமா தையான அழகியசொழ ஆழூாநாடடு மூவெநத வெளா னெழுதது. இவைஒளிநாகன-சநதிசெகானெழுதது. இவை ஒளிஙகன நாராயணனெழுதது. இவைகளதது்ளான சூறறி அரைசனெழுதது. இவைகொனநதசிராளனசெடடியெழு தது. இவையிணடிபுரவனசஙகநாகனெழுதது. இவைமாப பூஜி நாராயனன மாதககலியெழுதது. இவை மாபபூஜி அம மொடி ஆாவமூர்ஜினெழுதது. இவை உசசாஙகிழவன முக விநாகனெழுதது. இவை வணடாழஞ சேரியுடையான அய னபிசசனெழுதது. ஐயடிகதது்கு அழிவுசெயவான கஙகை யிடைக குமரியிடைசசெயதார் செயதபாவஙகொளவான.

இரண்டாவது சாஸநம்.

ஸ்ஸ்ரீ இரடைபபாடி யெழாயிலகமுஙகொணடு பொரிறறங கணகொபபாததா.ஹவமலலீன யஞ்சுவிததவ ஞீனியுங குதிரையுஙகைகொணடு விஜயாஹிஷெகஞசெயது வீரலிம.ஹாஸநததுவீறறிருநதருளியகொபபரகேஸரிவர்மான உடையாஸ்ரீராஜ ஒரதெவாககுயாணடு ஒனபதாவது ஜயஙகொணட சோழமணடலதது ஆமூராககொடடதது ஆமூராநாடடு தெவதாநமஹ ஹதெயமதிருவெழிசசிலொம எழுதது இநநாடடுநகரமாமலலபுரமான ஜநநாதபுரதது ஸ்ரீவாமெஷ்ணு மஹாவாராஹவிஷ்ணுஹ ஹததாழவாககுதெவதாந இறையிலியாக எஙகளூரில நாஙகளகொடுககிற நிலததுககு கீழபாறகெலலீல வணணகனெரிவழிகொமமடிககுணடிலுக குமெறகும தெனபாறகெலலீல களததுழான பரமனமுகலி நிலமான பளளசெறுவுககுவடகுமமெலபாறகெலலீசாத துழான சநதிசெகாகநிமவிததன நிலததுககுகிழகுமவட பாறகெலலீல கழியனசெமமெமெடடனகுணவன நிலததுக குததெறகும இநநாறபொலலீல உளளுமஙடுவுடபடட எற மெனனுஞசெறுவுகுழிமிகுதிகுறைவு உளளடஙகமுனஹ றுகுழியுமஇறையிழிசசி இநநிலமும இநநிலததுககு வண ணகனெரிவழிரும நிறொடுகாலுமுளபட இததேவாககு தெவதாந இறையிலிகாககொடுததொம இனனிலமுழுஙகு டிகளீ இனனிலததால வநதபெருவரியுமசிலவரியும வெடடி மூடடையாளும எசசொறறுக கூறறுநெலலும உளளிடடுக கடிதொனறும காடடகடவொமலலாதொமாகவும. இபப ரிசு இசைநதுதெவதாந இறைஇழிசசிகொடுததொம. திருவெ ழிசசிலொமவாகளவேணடஎழுதினென இநநாடடுகறபாக கதது ஸிவஸ்ராஹ்மண ஹாஹ்வாஜி ஆடவலானென இவை எனனெழுதது. இவைபாதாயகரமவிததனெழுதது. இப படிககுசெதிதது தேவகணதபடடனெழுதது. இபபடிக குசசாதநதைமலலனசனகனென

இவனகைமாடடாஙகி

மறிவேன ஒளிஞகன நாராயண னென இவை எனனெழு

- தது இபபடிககு செநதிரதது

படடனென இபபடிககு அருமபாகஇழா
னகாழி இராமநான ஜயஙகொணட சொழஆமூராஙாடடு மூ
வொநதவெளாளெனமுதது. அறிவேன இவவூர கர்ணததான
தொணடஆடவலாளெனமுதது. இவவாணடெ இததெவாககு
இவவூர ஒளிஙாகன மாதையான ஆமூராஙாடடு மூவொநதவெ
ளானவைதத திருநநதாவிளககு ஒனறுககுவைதத ஆடு
தொணணூறு. இததெவாககுஇடைப்பா

திருவிளககுஒனறுககுவிடடஆடு காமக
கொடனசெலவனகையுறற நாறபதனைநது.

VI.—*Notes on the Ruins at Mahâbalipuram on the Coromandel Coast.* By C. Gubbins, Esq., B. C. S.

[From the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXII. 1853.]

THE temples of Mahâbalipûr or Mâvalipuram are situated in Lat. 12° 36′ 57″ North, and Long. 80° 14′ 1″ East; nearly thirty-five miles south of Madras, and about five north of the little town of Sadras.

They are built and excavated from a low rocky ridge that, rising isolated from the plain, runs slanting towards the shore for about a mile and a half. The highest part, towards the north, is little more than 120 feet in elevation; and perhaps a mile from the sea, into which the southern extremity runs. It appears to have some small spurs, which may be seen cropping out at various points on the beach.

It is chiefly* of a binary granite, that conveys to a casual observer the idea of having been recently half-wetted by a driving pelt of rain; and although extremely hard, splits readily into masses of various but considerable size. I saw a block from forty to fifty feet in length, and twenty-five to thirty feet in width, that had been divided with an apparently† plane surface by a single blast of gunpowder. The hewers of the caves, however, do not seem to have

* As far as I could perceive, it was entirely so: but I had not leisure for an examination sufficiently minute to authorize my speaking positively.

† I say "*apparently*," because, with reference to the known conchoidal fracture of the rock, it is probable that when closely examined the surface would be found somewhat curved.

enjoyed the assistance of this powerful agent: their method was to trace out on the surface of the rock the line in which they required a separation, along which small holes were made with the chisel and wedges introduced with sufficient force to compel cleavage. It would, however, be difficult at the present day to determine whether these wedges were of wood, well dried before insertion, and subsequently swelled by the application of water; or of metal driven in by repeated blows, as appears to have been the custom in ancient Egypt.*

[* "A series of bare granite rocks, naturally of fantastic contour, nearly a mile long and 120 feet high, has afforded the Hindu artist ample scope for the exercise of his chisel, which must have been wrought of the finest tempered steel, for which India, since the dawn of history, has been justly celebrated. The bronze tools of the Egyptians might answer well enough in the limestone quarries around old Cairo, in working the blocks which constitute the great bulk of the pyramid, but would be of little avail in the quarries of Syene—a type of whose granite we find in the redder felspar. Quarternary granites compose the great monolithic *Rathas* of the Seven Pagodas—a mixture of red and white felspar, white quartz, dark mica, and hornblende. It is more than probable that Indian steel found its way into Egypt during the early traffic that is known to have subsisted between India, Judæa, Yemen, and Egypt. It is absurd to suppose, that the sharply-cut and deeply-engraven hieroglyphics which cover the granite obelisks of Egypt, were done with chisels of bronze, even armed with corundum dust. Quintus Curtius informs us, that Porus presented Alexander with a quantity of steel as one of the most acceptable and valuable gifts India could offer. The granite blocks here, as elsewhere in India, are subject to spontaneous concentric exfoliation and splitting. The globular mass, apparently about sixty feet in circumference, which we see nicely poised on a convex mass of granite—the pat of butter petrified by the god of milkmaids, Krishna—is ascribable to the first process; and the rents in the sculptured rocks—one of which cleaving the monolith pagodas, was ascribed by Mr. Chambers to a violent earthquake†—have doubtless been caused by the latter process of spontaneous splitting."—Newbold's "Notes on the Coast of Coromandel, from the Pennâr to Pondicherry," in Journal, Asiat. Socy. of Bengal, Vol. xv, p. 210.]

[† P. 10, *supra*.]

The rock yields to the weather by conchoidal peelings, which gives to the group the general appearance of a mass of gigantic boulders, or a confused assemblage of ruined domes. Considering its hardness, it seems to be peculiarly affected by the sea air. This was remarked by Mr. Chambers in 1772 and 1776. "All these figures are doubtless much less distinct than they were at first; for on comparing these and the rest of the sculptures that are exposed to the sea air, with others at the same place whose situation has afforded them protection from it, the difference is striking; the former being every where much defaced, while the others are fresh as recently finished;"* and it is necessary to bear in mind this characteristic when discussing the antiquity, either positive or comparative, of any portion of these edifices.

The greater part of these temples are excavations after the fashion of Ellora and Elephanta; superior in taste and symmetry, though far inferior in dimensions to the first-named.† The most perfect and beautiful is in a narrow ravine, towards the northern part of the range, and facing to the West; whereby it has been well protected from the effects of the sea air. Although small in its dimensions, it is remarkable for its artistic merit: the columns in particular are slender and most graceful; the pedestals couchant tigers facing outwards; the capitals elegant and well proportioned, though fashioned in a style unknown among the orders of Grecian architecture. Mr. Chambers remarks on

[* P. 4 f., *supra*.]

[† See note * p. 37, and p. 45, *supra*.]

its sculpture that "the figures of idols in high relief upon its walls are very well finished, and perfectly fresh."* Another appears to have been dedicated to *Siva*, who is represented, in the middle compartment, of large stature and with four arms. A small figure of Brahmâ is on his right; *Siva* with his consort Pârvatî on the left; and his left foot rests on a bull couchant. At one end of the temple is a gigantic figure of Vish*n*u sleeping on a Cobra da capello, with several heads so disposed as to form a canopy above the god. At the opposite end appears *Sivâni*, in the character of Durgâ, with eight arms, mounted on a lion; opposed to her is a gigantic figure with a human body and buffalo's head,† much resembling that which is elsewhere called the Yamarâja; between them is a human figure suspended head downwards, apparently the object of their dispute: and the monster brandishes a club, while the goddess is armed with various weapons and accompanied by some dwarf attendants.

Mr. Goldingham remarks, "The figure and action of the goddess are executed in a masterly and spirited style:"‡ and Lieutenant Newbold observes that "the best executed figure of the king of the beasts is that on which the goddess Durgâ is seen mounted, in the sculptured cave near the summit of the hill."§

[* P. 6, *supra*.]

[† Mahishâsura.—Cp. Babington, p. 49, and Braddock, pp. 99 ff., *supra*.]

[‡ P. 33, *supra*.]

[§ This passage occurs in a description of the Seven Pagodas quoted, (without Author's name,) at pp. 253 ff. of Pharoah's Gazeteer of Southern India. I have not access to the original paper.—Ed.]

Not far off, a large polished slab about ten feet in length, with the figure of a couchant lion at the southern end, is shown as the bed of the Dharmarâja: which may probably be understood as the "Lit de justice," or throne, whence some prince of that name was wont to dispense justice to his people.

Of the other caves some were considerably larger, and had more the appearance of being dedicated to Vishnu: all facing the East. But the striking point in which the whole series resembles that of Ellora is their unfinished state. Mr. James Fergusson remarks of them in a paper read to the R. A. Society in 1843:—

"One of the most singular characteristics of this series of caves is that they are all of one age, and probably the work of one prince, who has carried on the works simultaneously, but from some cause or other has been unable to complete even one of them; had one been finished, or had there been any gradation of style or workmanship, some chronological arrangement might easily have been traced; but nothing of the sort exists."*

Another still more remarkable point of similarity is the repetition of the sculptured group, representing a skeleton figure in a suppliant attitude before a personage appearing to possess authority. Mr. Goldingham describes the group at Mahâbalipûr as follows:

"Near this structure, the surface of the rock, about ninety feet in extent, and thirty in height, is covered with figures in bas-relief. A gigantic figure

[* Journal R. A. S., Vol. viii, p. 87.]

of the god *Krishna* is the most conspicuous; with Arjuna his favourite, in the Hindu attitude of prayer; but so void of flesh, as to present more the appearance of a skeleton than the representation of a living person. Below is a venerable figure, said to be the father of Arjuna;* both figures proving the sculptor possessed no inconsiderable skill."†

It does not appear whether Mr. Goldingham had any authority for this interpretation, beyond that of the attendant Brahmins, who are always ready to affix the names of some Hindu god or hero to every ancient sculpture; but I could not perceive in the standing figure the usual attributes of *Krishna*; neither can I recal any tale or legend that represents Arjuna and his father Pân*d*u as suppliants to that divinity, in a state of starvation.

When I visited the caves of Ellora in 1841, Lieut. Howarth, then engaged in making drawings of the bas-reliefs, informed me that the group was generally considered to pourtray a miser holding a bag of money, while his wife and son, reduced to skeletons, are vainly supplicating for food; but on minute inspection I was not satisfied with this interpretation, and find my notes on the subject as follows.

What is assumed to be a purse tied round the waist of the miser has not the appearance of a sack containing money; but might rather represent a girdle, drawn tight round the body to ease the sensation of hunger, as is the custom with most semi-civilized nations: neither can it be a bag of coins that he holds in his hand, because the thick

[* See note * p. 31, and note ‖ p. 88, *supra*.]

[† P. 30 f., *supra*.]

part is above the hand and terminates in a point at top; but it *might* be an instrument for cutting the rock, which he is holding out to the half-starved figures at his feet. The little fat cherub may as well be supposed to be bringing him a bag of treasure, as to be taking it away; and then the entire group may be imagined to pourtray the cause and mode of construction of these caves, as a work undertaken by some prince or wealthy chief during a time of famine to relieve the wants of his starving people. Admitting this supposition, we shall have no difficulty in accounting for a continuation of the bas-relief which appears appended, not only to this group but also to a similar one in less perfect preservation in another cave: and we shall recognize Ganesa, at the head of a row of females, each carrying a child in her arms as exhibiting the eventual results of the judicious disbursement.

This interpretation is merely a conjecture, but it seems to derive great support from the existence of the same group on the rocks of Mahâbalipuram.* We can hardly imagine sculptors at such very different parts of India happening to invent precisely the same story: though it might easily occur that both had to relate to posterity the same events. It is no very great stretch of credulity to suppose that in both places the works were undertaken by some prince to employ his famishing subjects during a time of great scarcity, and to furnish them with food without supporting them in slothful idleness. This is exactly what was done by Sir Charles Met-

[* The identity of the scenes represented in the sculptures at the two places is not apparent.]

calfe in our Upper Provinces during the famine of 1837-8, and it does not seem impossible that similar events might suggest similar remedies, to beneficent and intelligent minds, even at an interval of many centuries. Nor are we without some indications that such actually *has* been the case: for Mr. Taylor, quoting from the Mackenzie papers, says:

"In the Kali-yuga, Singhama Nâya*d*u the Zemindar of the Vellugo*t*ivâru race, seems to have ruled here. In that time, during a famine, many artificers resorted hither, and wrought on the mountain a variety of works, during two or three years."*

This theory will explain how in both cases, (Ellora and Mahâbalipuram,) a number of works were commenced simultaneously, in order to employ at once a large number of workmen: and how they came to be left unfinished; the people naturally returning to their ordinary occupations, when the pressure of famine was removed.

I must not omit to mention another tradition which attributes the construction of these works to a body of northern artificers, who fled from the tyranny of their own or some conquering prince, and were suddenly recalled to their homes, by proffered favours and concessions on his part; nor the conjecture of Mr. James Fergusson, who, discrediting this story, accepts Singhama Nâya*d*u as the prince

[* Madras Journal, Vol. viii, p. 65. Cp. note *c*, p. 115, *supra*.—"About 500 years ago a Poligar of the name of Balicota Simcomnaidu lived here, and began to build a little fort on the top of the rock, some ruins of which still remain, as bricks, &c. It is also said that Krishnarailu, who lived about 250 years ago, employed some workmen, who had been driven from the north into the Carnatic in search of bread."—Heyne's Tracts on India. London, 1814, p. 335.]

to whom the excavations are due: and tracing him to his death in battle, while besieging the fort of Jalli palli in the thirteenth century, conceives this event to be a more probable cause of the sudden interruption of the works. "It being entirely a fancy of his own, and neither indigenous in the country, nor a part of the religion of the people, it is not probable that his successor would continue the follies of his parent."* Either of these suppositions would certainly account for the non-completion of the works at Mahâbalipûr: but we should then have to seek out some analogous cause for the same circumstance at Ellora: and the remarkable repetition of the significant group of sculpture would remain totally unexplained.

There are a variety of other sculptures both of beasts and human beings; and often presenting a mixture of both. The most conspicuous is the king snake, with the head and body of a man, terminating in extensive serpentine convolutions, often winding round other groups.† They are nearly all on the eastern face of the rock: and mostly close to the principal caves, which are in the northern half of the range. In the same vicinity is a somewhat remarkable monolith; a mass of living rock left isolated, and artificially fashioned outside, as well as inside. It appears to be above twenty-five feet in height, the same in length, and about half in breadth. It has a long roof curved like a gothic-pointed arch, and gabled at each end.

The walls are of great thickness, so that the interior cell is small: it contains a lingam, and

[* Journal R. A. S., Vol. viii. p. 89.] [† See note ‡ p. 88, *supra*.]

among the sculptures on its walls, appears the figure of Ganesa in small dimensions.* Its door faces the west: and close to it the Brahmans are quarrying the rock, to repair and beautify the interior of the brick pagoda; the only one in which the ceremonials of worship are performed at the present day.

At the extreme south of the ridge, and separated from it by a small level space, along which runs the lower road from Madras to Cuddalore, stand a group of monoliths, seven† in number, surrounded by a grove of cocoanut trees.‡ Five of them are pagodas; of which the most southern (measured by Mr. Goldingham forty feet in height) resembles in general outline a Mussulman mausoleum. Another twenty-five feet in height, and perhaps fifty in length, has a long gothic roof as previously described, and is ornamented on the outside: the other three are more like modern pagodas. The two remaining rocks are fashioned to imitate an elephant and a lion, in colossal proportions. All these monoliths, though close to the sea-beach, and perfectly exposed, are comparatively fresh in their outline, and exhibit very little signs of corrosion. They are composed of this same binary granite, and I think we may thence conclude their comparative antiquity not to be very great.

There still remain two§ temples, differing from

[* The Ganesa temple is more correctly described at page 79, *supra*.]

[† There are eight, including the figure of the sacred bull (Nandi) almost buried in the sand.]

‡ O ele—palmyras: my recollection on this point is indistinct.||

§ I have been told of a third farther north, but did not see it. [See note † p. 106, *supra*.]

[|| They are palmyras (Borassus flabelliformis) and scrub dates (Phœnix farinifera).]

MAHA[illegible]PURAM SHORE TEMPLE.

and bearing every appearance of having originally been its principal* entrance. The walls and roof of a connecting passage still exist, but all access by this route is now barred by a slab of black basaltic rock, fixed in the eastern wall of the portico, opposite its entrance. A similar, rather larger slab occupies a corresponding place on the inner surface of the western wall of the temple; and on both are images of Śiva, Pârvatî, and their child.† I was unable to discover whether the space intervening between these two slabs is vacant, or has been filled up with masonry: but it is my very strong impression, that they and their immediately surrounding blocks of stone are long subsequent in date to the rest of the building, and have been inserted in order to mark the ancient entry. As matters at present stand, it is impossible to assign any reason for the existence of a blind chamber, or other mass of building, between two temples of Śiva placed *dos à dos:* and there are only two suppositions that will account for the erection of these two buildings, of obviously the same date, with a covered passage of connection. Either the smaller was a sanctuary, to be entered only from the larger; as appears to have been the case in some of the Arian temples still extant in Cashmere: or else it must have been a portico, through which admission

* As is constantly seen at present to the east of Hindu temples.

† The centre is occupied by a large lingam‡ which, from its dark colour, I conclude to be of this basaltic rock, which must have been brought from a considerable distance. The chaityas§ terminating the roofs of both temple and prophyllum are the same. Every other part is granite.

[‡ See note † p. 107, *supra*.] [§ See note * p. 172, *infra*.]

was obtained to the larger or real temple. The first hypothesis is contradicted by the existence of the western entry to the smaller edifice, which is certainly contemporaneous with its construction: and also by the fact that the stone screen, that so carefully encircles the larger building, *ceases* on arriving opposite the smaller. We are therefore thrown back upon the second;* which is supported not only by these circumstances, but also by the extreme simplicity of the present door to the larger temple; a mere plain opening in the wall. I may also mention that while the smaller building (and through it, were the passage still open, the larger one only) is approached from the west with ease and on a level; the only access to the simple opening in the eastern screen now serving as an entry is over a low but steep and rugged rock washed by the breakers below. This rock has certainly the appearance, both here and elsewhere, of having been partly cut into rude steps and partly perforated as if to receive some superstructure that has since disappeared. One solitary column still raises its head above the waves, and is commonly considered to have been a Stambha, to support lamps:† it should, however, be remarked that there is no vestige of any mode of ascent, to place them; neither of niches wherein they might be placed. The top is formed into a kind of peg, as if to receive some capping stone, and I

* The idea of the original entrance having been from the west will appear less strange if it be remembered that the entrance and portico of the Kailâs at Ellora actually are from that quarter.

[† See note † p. 11, and note ‡ p. 51, *supra*. The statement that it is a lamp-post (*Dîpastambha*) appears, from the height and shape of the pillar, to be correct.]

have myself little doubt that it is the sole relic of some terrace or arcade, once extending in this direction: I also traced out faintly the platforms of two collateral buildings; one on each side of that now standing: and among the débris of the southernmost I discovered several images of the kneeling bull generally placed opposite a lingam, so corroded as to be only recognizable on careful examination. A similar image, in a better state of preservation, is to be seen within the granite screen, on one side of the portico; and on the other, in a closet or small chamber of comparatively recent construction, is a large recumbent statue of Vishnu, with the ordinary Sesh-nâga* below and above him.

On the shore close by are several rudely sculptured rocks: one representing a monster with human arms and the head of an ox or buffalo,† commonly called the Yama-râja. They have suffered greatly from the action of the sea air, as has also every part of the adjacent temple, except its chaityas of basalt. In this respect there is a great difference between its appearance and that of the caves, or even of the group of monoliths placed in a situation no less exposed: and after close examination of all surrounding circumstances, I am unable to resist the conclusion that this temple is by many degrees the most ancient of the remains at Mahâbalipûr: in fact, that it is one of the most ancient in India. I am aware that Mr. James Fergusson considers "that its age does not differ materially from that of the rest;"‡ and it is with the greatest diffidence that I venture

[* See note * p. 33, *supra*.] [† Mahishâsura.]
[‡ Journal R. A. S., Vol viii, p. 87.]

to express an opinion differing from that entertained by so competent an authority: but Mr. Fergusson was specially engaged in the examination of the rock-cut temples; remarking the similarities and the differences existing between them and similar works in other parts of India; so that probably he had little leisure for this structure; to which I, on the contrary, devoted much attention. Besides, if I remember right, he decided these caves to be more modern than those of Ellora: at the same time he considered the celebrated Kailâs of that place to have been copied from some earlier edifice of Southern India: and looking to the very great general similarity of style, I am certainly inclined to refer this shore temple of Mahâbalipûr to the *age* of those earlier structures; although the precise model of the Kailâs may not be found here, but at Chellambram* or Tanjore. This would give a considerable difference of date; and the supposition is borne out by the assurances of the Brahmans who attended Mr. Goldingham, that their ancient books "contained no account of any of the structures here described, except *the stone pagodas near the sea* and the pagodas of brick at the village."† The obvious error of the last statement certainly detracts from the value to be assigned to the former; but it should not be forgotten, that these brick pagodas were in their own possession, and in present use; so that they had a motive for assigning to *them* a fabulous degree of antiquity: while they had no such inducement for making an untrue distinction

[* Prop. Chitambaram.] [† P. 36, *supra*.]

between the caves and the other remains, all equally abandoned and valueless to themselves.

But whatever the age either actual or relative of the various temples of Mahâbalipûr, it seems certain, that at some distant period, the place was one of no small importance. The ground immediately inland from the shore temple has obviously been built over to a considerable extent. The extremely well-cemented foundations of ancient walls are now dug out, as required for building materials, by the inhabitants of the neighbouring village; or for the improvement of the brick pagoda. I examined a large mass of concrete, with bricks on the lower surface, and found it extremely solid and in excellent preservation. It consisted of sharp broken fragments of the granite of the place, mixed with unburned shells: the excellent mortar in which they were embedded being probably these same sea shells burned. The bricks were of the large size usual in all old Hindu structures: but not uniform in their shape. Those I measured varied from eleven to thirteen inches in length, from seven to seven and half in breadth, and were pretty regularly two inches thick;* so well laid in the finest mortar,

* I append a memorandum of the dimensions of old bricks I have collected within the limits of the Mahâbhârata, and an average of a much larger number of specimens from the neighbourhood gives 15¼ by 8¼ by 2½.

Paneeput Fort ...15 inch. long,	9 inch. wide,	2½ inch. thick.	
Burnawa do. ...17	„	9	„	2½	„
Hustinapoor do...14	„	9	„	2½	„
Average...15¼	„	9	„	2½	„

It will be observed that here again the most variable dimension is the length: and the average of these north country bricks will be found to be exactly of the same *proportions* as the average of those at

that five of them *in situ* barely measured eleven inches. Most of the houses in the village are built of these old bricks; but the ruins are so completely covered with a deposit of soil, and drift sand, that numerous excavations would be necessary to afford even the vaguest idea of their extent. It is however certain that there must have been a wealthy, and therefore in all probability a numerous population, where dwelling-houses were built of burned bricks, cemented with lime mortar; and where masons were sufficiently acquainted with the mysteries of their art, to use foundations of concrete, formed of the most durable materials, and on the most approved principles. It must be remembered that in classical days the extremity of the peninsula was the entrepôt of commerce between the east and the west. Gibbon says, "Every year, about the summer solstice, a fleet of a hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myas Hormas, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. The coast of Malabar or the island of Ceylon was the usual term of their navigation, and it was in those markets that the merchants from the more remote parts of Asia expected their arrival. This fleet traversed the ocean in about forty days by the periodical assistance of the monsoons." Whence we gather that the European fleets proceeded to India with the commencement of the S. W. monsoon; and remained there until the beginning of the N. Easterly; which is consonant with all we know of the habits of the seamen of antiquity. But, at that time of year, the ports

Mahâbalipûr, the length 15¼ and breadth 9, being pretty nearly to the length 12 and breadth 7¼ inches as the thickness 2¼ is to the thickness 2.

of the Malabar Coast would have been extremely unsafe; besides that no large city is known to have flourished at that epoch anywhere near Ceylon, with access from that quarter. It is therefore far more probable that the laden ships, favoured by the strong southerly current along the shore, passed *by* the Malabar Coast, and *by* the island of Ceylon, to find harbour on the Coromandel Coast, and await the change that would take them on their return voyage. I have the authority of a commander of approved skill and well acquainted with these seas for saying that there are no physical features to prohibit the idea that Mâvalipûr may have been one of these ports. He answers my enquiries: "There are no reefs off the Seven Pagodas; and the only danger in the vicinity is a small reef nearly abreast of the Collector's house at Tripalore, hence called the Tripalore reef, upon which one of the Company's vessels was wrecked some fifty years ago: but so near shore (half mile) as not to create any alarm at the present day," when its situation is perfectly ascertained. He adds, that even now ships passing along this coast generally make Sadras hills, to get into a good position for reaching more northern parts; and that "there is no reason why the anchorage at the Seven Pagodas should not be as safe as Madras roads." Nor are there wanting indications of the place having formerly possessed far better anchorage than either Madras or Pondicherry could ever boast. Behind and south of the sculptured ridge for some distance inland, runs a salt-marsh, bearing every appearance of having once formed part of the estuary, which debouches about half-way between Sadras and the shore Pagoda. The soil is

not at all like once firm ground, overflowed by the ocean, but rather the light pulpy character of silt, deposited by contending currents and streams in some nook, where their forces neutralised one another: an operation well known to be proceeding down to the present day in every quarter of the globe. A corresponding action, minor in degree because only due to rain and atmosphere, has most certainly taken place on the other side of the sculptured ridge: as is shown by the five or six feet of alluvial soil under which the ruins of the city* are now buried: and we can with equal confidence assert, that foreigners were in the habit of visiting the place, as among the coins found in the vicinity have been some of Rome, of China, and other distant lands. No very great increase of depth in the estuary would (I *believe*, but I could not obtain accurate soundings) be necessary to admit vessels of the burthen then usual, and to afford them shelter equal to any on the coast. We have, therefore, I think, good reason to conclude that in the olden days of which so few records have reached us, when the Chinese, the Phœnicians and the men of Tarsis united, as in the present day, the extreme east and west in bonds of amity by the mutual interchange of commodities, Mâvalipûr or Mahâbalipuram was a place of considerable commercial resort; and perhaps one of the chief ports of Southern India: very probably the Malearpha of Ptolemy.† I am far from considering it equally certain that this was the capital city of the mythological hero Bali. We

[* The writer here begs the question.]

[† Heeren's theory.—See his Historical Researches, Asiatic Nations, Vol. ii, pp. 83, 298.]

all know the tendency of the Brahmans to appropriate to their own sect every relic of antiquity they found in the countries over which they extended their influence: and beyond their own assertions I do not know that we have the least evidence to the fact. "The name still surviving" will seem to many a strong argument: only it will not prove a sound one. The name of Mahâbalipuram, "the city of the great Bali," is only known at the present day to the Brahmans, and to Europeans who derived all their information either directly or indirectly from the Brahmans: and as there is no reason to believe that Sanscrit or Hindî was at any epoch the vernacular of that part of the country, we can hardly suppose that such a purely Sanscrit name ever was in common use thereabouts. Had the current name among the people been one that might possibly be considered a Tamil version of this significant epithet, we might certainly give some weight to the fact of such a name lingering about these remarkable antiquities: but on the contrary, the common names* of Mallapûr or Mâvalipûram are said to have no such meaning;† and the similarity of sound would rather favour the idea that the Brahmans, finding these remains with a name firmly annexed, adapted both to their own purposes; by fixing upon that one of their fabulous heroes, to whose title the foreign word could most easily be converted. Their own books do not afford much

[* The common name is Mâvalivaram, apparently a corruption of Mahâbalipuram. The old name given in the Sthalapurâṇa (see Appendix) is Mallâpurî, but it is now entirely in disuse.]

† I cannot speak positively nor of my own knowledge, not being sufficient of a Tamil scholar.

support to their present claims. The Mahâbhârata describes the city as being

गङ्गायाः दक्षिणे भागे योजनानां शतद्वयं।
पञ्चयोजनमात्रेण पूर्वाब्धेश्चैव पश्चिमे॥*

"South of the Ganges 200 Yojanas, 5 Yojanas westward from the Eastern sea." It must be admitted that we do not know the exact equivalent of the Indian Yojana :† but it has generally been considered between nine and twelve miles, either of which would carry us far south of Ceylon! If therefore this quotation refers to any city on the present continent of India, we must greatly reduce the length of the Yojana: say to five or even four miles, which would about bring us to the latitude of Mâvalipuram. But we must suppose that the proportion of two hundred to five was somewhat near the truth: and this would oblige us to look for Bali's capital not on the sea shore but twenty miles inland, where to the best of my information no vestige of a city remains. If we assume the Yojana five miles instead of four, we shall certainly be able to satisfy both conditions pretty well in Combaconum, the Benares of the south, or in the ancient capital‡ of the Pândya kingdom, but either explanation is equally fatal to the claims of Mâvalipuram.

It is true that it has been generally believed that

[* See Appendix.]

† A Pandit in this neighbourhood (Rohilcund) called it "four kos:" which would be from five to six English miles; as the local kos is seldom as much as 1½ mile: and from a note to Chap. xxii § of Fa Hian's pilgrimage it would seem that farther south the Yojana was only four miles.

[‡ Madura.]

[§ See also Note 1, Chap. xiii.]

the sea had encroached on this shore, and that many pagodas and buildings of this ancient city had been submerged even since the English settlements took place; and it may therefore be said that in all probability the site of this city was actually twenty miles from the sea in the days when the Mahâbhârata was written. This idea is founded partly on the mariner's name of the Seven Pagodas, said to indicate the existence (in the early days of English intercourse with India) of seven Pagodas on the shore where now only one remains. But personal inspection at once shows the fallacy of this derivation of the name: the shore temples being far too low to be perceived at the distance that ships usually pass; more especially as they are backed by the cave-hewn ridge; and it is infinitely more probable that Mr. Chambers was correct in referring the appellation to the peculiar appearance presented by the rounded peaks of this ridge itself, especially as temples were vaguely known to exist in that neighbourhood without their situation being very accurately settled. He says, "The rock, or rather hill of stone, on which great part of these works are executed, is one of the principal marks for mariners as they approach the coast, and to them the place is known by the name of the Seven Pagodas; possibly because the summits of the rock have presented them with that idea as they passed."*

A far stronger evidence however, in the general opinion, was the tradition imparted by the Brahmans, and perhaps other inhabitants, to the earlier European visitors of the place. Mr. Chambers relates:

[* P. 2, *supra*.]

"The natives of the place declared to the writer of this account, that the more aged people among them remembered to have seen the tops of several Pagodas far out in the sea; which being covered with copper (probably gilt) were particularly visible at sunrise, as their shining surface used *then* to reflect the sun's rays, but that now that effect was no longer produced, as the copper had become encrusted with mould and verdigris."* Passing over as a minor objection that "at sunrise" the dark sides of the pagoda tops would alone be visible from the shore, and that they would be best seen when illuminated by the *setting sun*, I would enquire how is it possible that these slender ornaments should shine "far out" in the surf of the Coromandel Coast, where not years or months, but a few hours of the stiff gales, with which it is so constantly visited, would be all-sufficient not only to destroy the lustre of gilt copper, but to dislodge every stone between high and low water mark? It cannot be supposed that any sudden convulsion lowered the whole coast, so that all at once the waves should roll within a few feet of the top instead of below the foundations of the pagodas; for such a convulsion must infallibly have shaken them to pieces, as well as levelled the existing temple, whose still uninjured pinnacles clearly disprove the hypothesis: therefore the subsidence, if ever it took place, must have been extremely gradual, like those of the Swedish and parts of the Italian coast: and recollecting the numerous years, (not to say centuries) that would be required to sink the forty or fifty feet which may

[* P. 11, *supra*.]

reasonably be assumed to have been the height of the vanished structures, I only ask is it credible that the waves should have spared them until only their tops (still bright and glittering notwithstanding the dashing spray ! ! !) remained above the surface.

I am sorry to be obliged thus to demolish the beautiful romance of the "Wave-covered metropolis of Bali;" but it is not the first of the aerial castles of Indian tradition that has faded before the fuller light of modern European investigation. Like Bishop Heber I find it difficult to understand how this particular spot should have sunk so much, if (as other writers aver) the rest of the Coromandel Coast, both north and south, has rather risen within historical times. I have already mentioned the local features leading me to conclude that this immediate vicinity has not suffered any encroachment from the ocean, but has rather gained from, and increased in elevation above it by alluvial deposits from the higher lands :* and if a Brahman legend is required, there happens to exist one in the Mackenzie papers (vide Mr. Taylor's 3rd report, section 9, page 65,†) that comes as near to my view of the formation of the salt-marsh, as these tales generally do to the natural truths they often dimly chronicle.

* The brick foundations I have mentioned as being five or six feet *below* the present surface of the land, are very considerably more than that amount *above* high-water mark. I have not noticed Captain Newbold's argument in favour of the submersion of the city, viz., that Chinese and other coins are often washed ashore in storms;‡ because the fact is equally explicable, by the supposition that this was a port frequented by foreign ships, of which some must necessarily, in the course of years, have been wrecked and sunk in the vicinity.

[† Madras Journal, Vol. viii.]

[‡ Notes on the Coast of Coromandel, in Journ. Asiat. Socy. of Bengal, Vol. xv, p. 210.]

In early times one Mallesudu ruled here prosperously; but having refused charity to a Brahman, he was changed into an alligator. A *Ri*shi named Pun*da*rîka, going to pluck a lotus flower in the tank where the alligator lay, was seized by it, but had power to drag it out. The king thus obtained release and went to Svarga. The *Ri*shi wished to present the lotus flower to Vish*n*u, but the sea barred his way, and would not retreat; so he sat down to bale the sea out! While thus occupied, an ancient Brahman came and asked for boiled rice, offering to do the *Ri*shi's work, while the latter should go and cook it. By taking up a single handful of water the sea retreated a whole coss, and when the *Ri*shi returned he found the Brahman reposing in the manner in which statues of Vish*n*u are sometimes represented. He now recognized the god, and a fane was built by him over the spot. If this tale have any real foundation, it probably indicates that after a period of abandonment this site was re-occupied, and great increase of land discovered to have taken place about the time when the worship of Vish*n*u was introduced into the southern peninsula; which being a date tolerably ascertained, may possibly guide some future visitor in fixing the age of the various structures; especially if assisted by some translation of the inscriptions which were unfortunately quite unintelligible to me.

It will be observed that I have made the freest use of the accounts of other travellers: partly, in order to present in a general view the remarks now scattered in half a dozen volumes, and partly in order to support by the authority of others the conclusions drawn in my own confessedly hasty

visit. Had I only been as well acquainted at that time as I am now with the writings of my predecessors, I should have investigated far more closely several points that I now perceive with regret I almost overlooked. The shore temple alone can be said to have been thoroughly examined: and I suppose it must have been deemed less worthy of notice by former travellers: else I do not understand how it could escape remark that the original entry of the building must have been through the portico, which is in rear at present.* I trust what I have said may draw the attention of men better versed in Indian antiquities to the subject of the direction in which the entrance is placed in Hindu temples: as it may possibly prove characteristic of some particular sect or epoch. At the present day, all temples in these Upper Provinces (and as far as my observation goes, in the other Presidencies also) are turned towards the east: and a Brahman at Huridwar gave me as a reason the rising of the sun in that quarter. I remember to have seen one exception (besides the Kailâs at Ellora already mentioned;) which is on the grand trunk-road on the banks of the Burachur near Taldanga.† In a group of four temples, not differing essentially in style or architecture, and all apparently quite modern, one is turned to the west, while all the others are to the east. I could not discover that

* I have not been able to procure the papers of Mr. Babington or of Mr. Walter Elliot on the subject: but of the four or five I have perused, no one *touches this point.*

† And I *think* that among the Âryan temples of Cashmere, is said to be a group of four facing to all four cardinal points.

they belonged to different divinities, but there was no person near from whom I could positively ascertain that such was not the case.

Another point that strikes me as deserving attention, more particularly from Engineers and persons engaged on public works, is the very great durability of the basaltic rock as compared with the granite of the Coromandel Coast. We have no reason to believe that the umbrella-shaped summits of the temples, which for want of a better term I have called *chaityas*,* are otherwise than contemporaneous with the rest of the temple; and they are, of course, equally exposed to the spray and saline atmosphere: yet they appear perfectly fresh and uninjured, while the granite has lost the whole of its outer surface by gradual disintegration and exfoliation.

I append two sketch plans to elucidate the above descriptions of locality: but they have no pretensions to strict accuracy, being done entirely from memory, months after I visited the place.

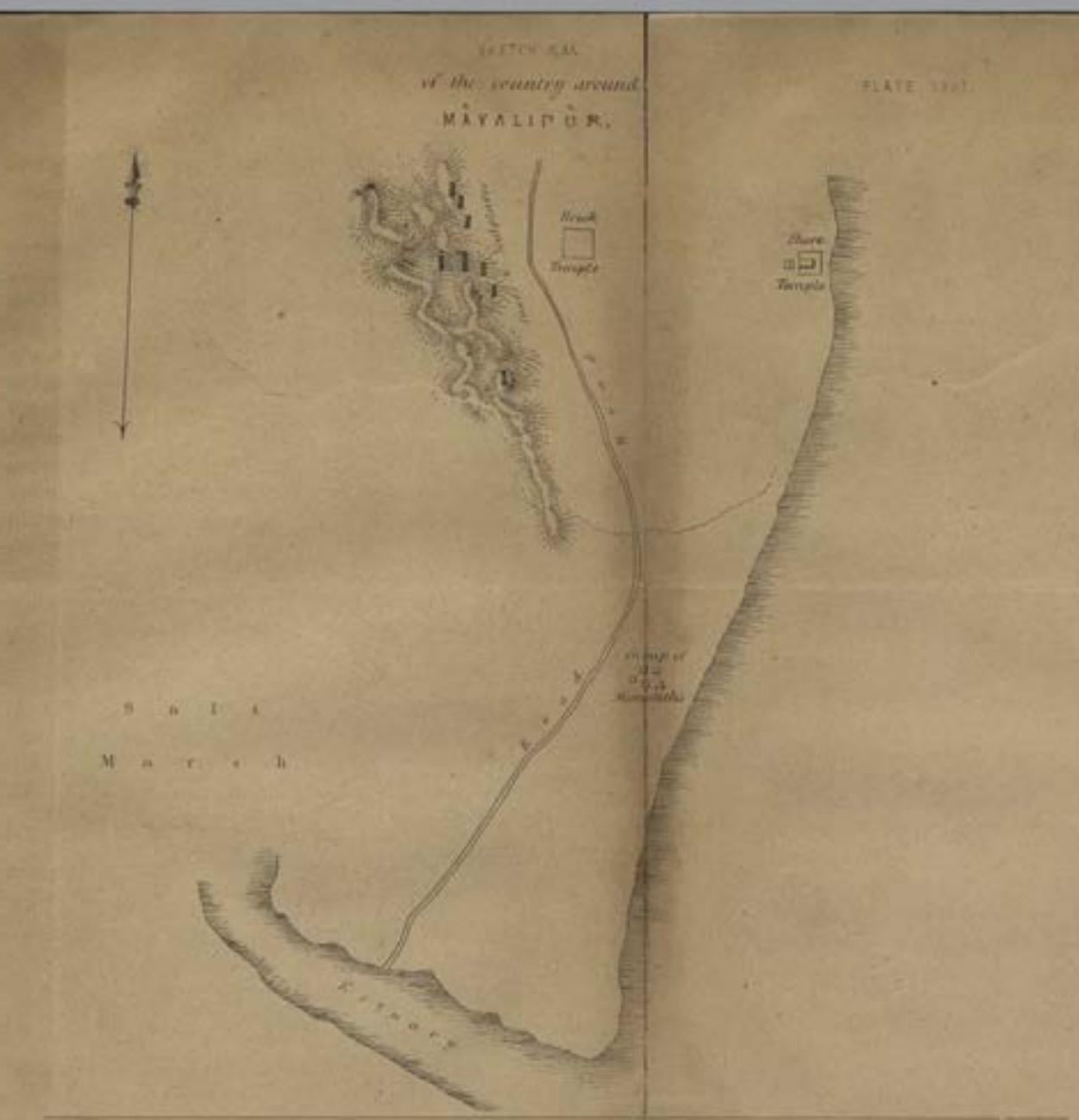
[* *Kalasa* is the proper name of these pinnacles.]

SKETCH MAP

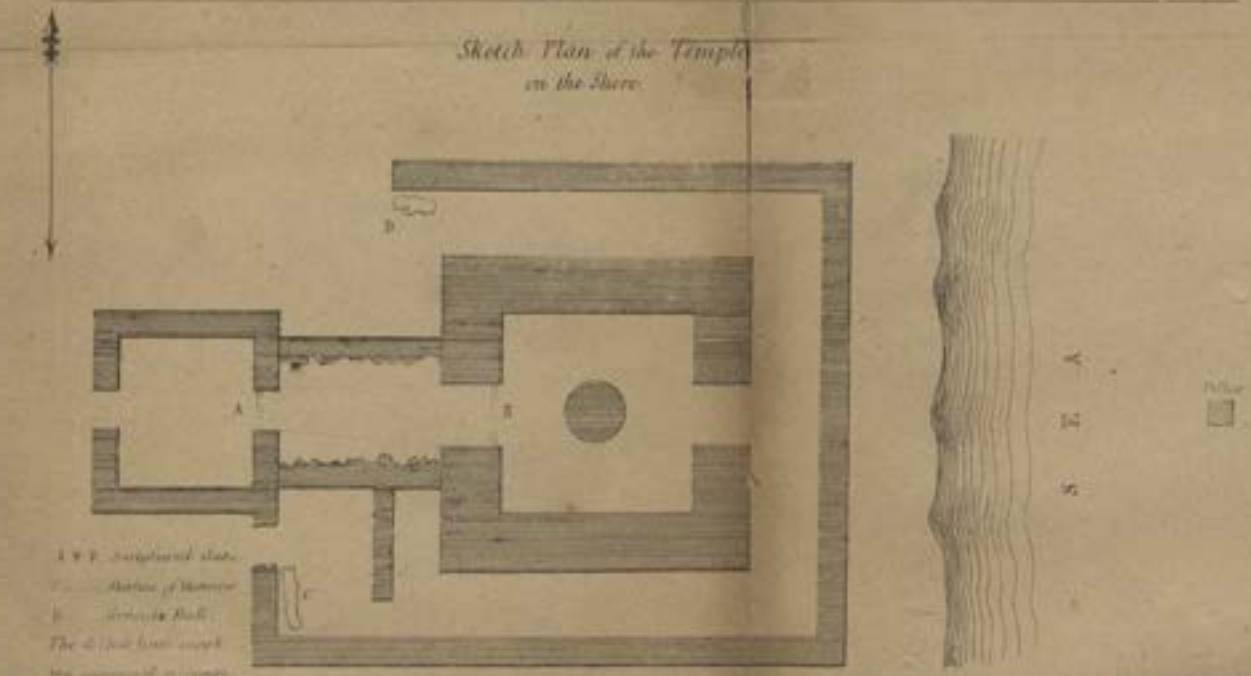
of the country around

MAVALIPUR.

PLATE XXVI.



Sketch Plan of the Temple on the Shore



XXV. sculptured slab.
A. Shrine of Mahadeo
B. Lingam in Shrine
The dotted lines mark the supposed original range

APPENDIX.

[By the Editor.]

The Sthalapurâna.

The Sthalapurâna or Local legend of Mallâpurî has been examined. It professes to be contained in Adhyâyas 93—100 of the Kshetrakhanda of the Brahmândapurâna, and is styled Mallâpurîmâhâtmya.

The opening lines are as follows :—

एकदा नारदो योगी प्राक्षतो बालिशो यथा।
संचुब्धहृदयोभीक्ष्णं नाभूच्चित्ते समाहितः ॥१॥
अथ क्षुब्धाशयो योगी विचिन्वन् तस्य कारणं।
न किंचित्प्राप मतिमान् बहुधापि विचारयन् ॥२॥
अथ चेतस्समाधानं तपसेति विचिंतयन्।
मतिमांस्तस्य चरणे स्थानवर्यमचिंतयत् ॥३॥
दिक्षु सर्वासु ते मेरौ निश्चयं मे उपीयुषा।
संतुष्टया यथा तस्य लाभतो मुनिरैधत ॥४॥*
ततस्स नारदो योगी जगाम भृशसत्वरः।

* Three MSS. examined, read as above; the following reading of the 4th sloka has been suggested by a Pandit:—

दिक्षु सर्वासु तं मेरौ निश्चयं समुपेयिवान्।
संतुष्या च यया तस्या लाभतो मुनिरैधत ॥

मत्यलोकात्तदैकाकी जटामंडलमंडितः ॥५॥
स मुहूर्तेन मतिमान् सुमेरुं रत्नशेखरं ।
क्षणेन तु तटे रम्ये प्राप शीघ्रं मुनीश्वरः ॥६॥
स गत्वा तत्र जटिलान् मुनींश्चिरकृतासनान् ।
नासाग्रन्यस्तनयनान् माधवार्पितचेतसः ॥७॥
वसमानांश्च दर्भाद्यैर्निश्चलान् नित्यनिर्मदान् ।
ददर्श नारदो हृष्टस्तान्ननाम सहस्रशः ॥८॥
तैरयं कुशलं पृष्टो बहुधा परिभाषितः ।
पृष्टश्चागमनार्थं च बभाषे वचनं मुनिः ॥९॥
मुनयो योगसंसिद्धाः संतुष्टं मानसं मम ।
दर्शनाद्भवतां सद्यः श्रूयतां वचनं मम ॥१०॥
भवतां सन्निधावत्र तपश्चरणनिश्चयात् ।
आगतोहं मनस्तोषात्सत्यलोकान्मुनीश्वराः ॥११॥
वांछते पुनरप्यस्य मनोनुमतिमत्र वः ।
तस्मान्मयि कृपावश्या नियाम्याः कुत्र योगिभिः ॥१२॥
एतच्छ्रुत्वा वचो रम्यं योगिनो योगिनस्ततः ।
संतुष्टास्तुष्टुवुस्थानं ब्रह्माश्रममुदाहृतं ॥१३॥
पुरा किल मुने तातस्तव लोकपितामहः ।
अचिन्तापाभिभूतस्सन् संक्षुब्धहृदयस्तथा ॥१४॥
माधवेन प्रसन्नेन नियुक्तस्तपसे स्वयं ।
जगत्सृष्ट्यत्रमो ब्रह्मा तपस्तेपेतिदुश्चरं ॥१५॥
अत्राष्टशतमब्दांश्च तप्त्वात्युग्रं परं तपः ।
भूयः प्रापातिविमलं मनोनिश्चयमात्मनः ॥१६॥
तत्स्थानं परमं दिव्यं तव तातस्य नारद।
सद्यस्सिद्धिकरं पुंसां तदेव तव च स्थलं ॥१७॥

अत्रैवाश्रमवर्ये तु परमं तप आचर ।
इति तत्राप्यनुज्ञातस्तपश्चरणलालसः ॥१८॥
आवर्तयन् महामंत्रमतिष्ठत्सुचिरं मुनिः ।
मतं तु देववर्षाणां स चरन् दुश्चरं तपः ॥१९॥

"Once upon a time, Nârada Yogî became, like one of the vulgar and ignorant, much disturbed in mind, and meditation no longer occupied his thoughts. 2. Then the Yogî with mind thus agitated sought for the cause thereof, but the wise man found none, though he searched in many ways. 3. Afterwards, thinking that by penance peace would be restored to his mind, the wise man bethought him of an excellent place for its performance. 4. Out of all places he fixed on Meru, and the Muni greatly rejoiced at the prospect. 5. Then Nârada Yogî, adorned with braided hair, departed speedily and alone from Satyaloka. 6. The sage reached in a Muhûrta the gem-tipped Sumeru; quickly, in a moment, did the great Muni reach the lovely height. 7, 8. He, having gone there, saw the Munis with braided hair, in long continued postures, with eyes fixed on the root of the nose, with minds devoted to Mâdhava, clothed in *darbha*, &c., motionless, ever humble. Nârada rejoiced and saluted them thousands of times. 9. He was enquired of them regarding his health, and conversed with on many matters; asked the reason of his coming, the Muni said—10. 'O perfect Munis! by seeing you my mind is instantly rejoiced, listen ye to my speech: 11. With the resolution of performing penance here, in your presence, O great Munis, have I come with joyful

mind from Satyaloka. 12. Now my mind desires to obtain your consent here, and therefore favor must be shown towards me. What place will the Yogîs appoint me?' 13. Then the Yogîs, having heard the sweet speech of [Nârada] Yogî, rejoiced; and praised the place called Brahmâśrama. 14. 'O Muni, was not thy father, the grandfather of the world, formerly humbled in like manner by Atri's curse, and disturbed in his mind? 15. Brahmâ, powerless in creating the world and commanded to do penance by Mâdhava, performed penance the most difficult. 16. Here for eight hundred years having performed penance meritorious and most severe, he obtained again his own very pure and settled mind. 17. O Nârada, that, thy father's excellent and heavenly place which instantly perfects a man, that is thy place also. 18. Here, in the excellent Âśrama, perform the highest penance.' There, thus permitted, he was eagerly desirous of performing penance. 19. That *Ri*shi remained for long repeating the Mahâmantra,* and for a hundred divine years performing severe penance."

Nârada however does not experience any benefit from this protracted austerity, and finds his mind remain as disturbed as before. He then goes sorrowing to his father Brahmâ in Brahmaloka, and tells him of his state. Brahmâ bids him recall any probable cause for it, when he recollects having denied Vishnu's accessibility *(saulabhya,)* and maintained his inaccessibility *(paratva).* (xciii, 20—41.) Brahmâ then relates to him the discussion between Agastya and Sûta on this topic, which again involves Śiva's

* The Ashtâkshari.

answers to Pârvatî's questions regarding Vishnu's attributes. (xciii. 42—95). In reply to Pârvatî's question as to how Vishnu became accessible, Śiva related the story of Pundarîka *Ri*shi who went to Yadugiri,* to worship Vishnu, meeting with sundry adventures on the way. The Rishi afterwards visited the sacred places on the East Coast, coming to the Varâhakshetra. From thence, going South, he came to a beautiful garden where he saw a *Yogî*, named Vishnusarma, and near that garden he perceived a pond *(pushkarinî)* in which were wonderful lotuses. While plucking these, Pundarîka heard a voice from heaven, saying, 'Lo! here are large and priceless lotuses of the colour of gold, of delightful perfume, having a thousand petals—these are fit for the worship of the god who dwells on the Sea of milk, but not for that of other deities.' Greatly rejoicing, the Rishi proceeded to pluck the whole of the flowers, when a crocodile came to attack him, but mistook a lotus stalk for the holy man's leg, was pierced in the tongue by the thorns, and from loss of blood lay as dead on the water. (xciv. 1—86.) The Rishi went near, and the crocodile addressed him in a soft voice and told its story, commencing :—

पुरा जन्मन्यहं ब्रह्मन् राजा सर्वमहीपतिः ।
दाता च सर्वकामानां मल्लापुर्यां वसाम्यहं ॥

'In a former birth, O Brahman, I was king of the whole earth, and dwelt at Mallâpurî, granting to all their wishes.' Then the crocodile gave the Rishi

* A sacred hill at Mêlkôta in Mysore.

an elaborate and extravagant description of Mallâpurî, adding :—

मल्लेश्वर इति ख्यातः भुवनत्रयविश्रुतः ।
विष्णुभक्तश्शतानंदः पुत्रो मम महाद्युतिः ॥

'My son Satânanda, a votary of Vishnu, of exalted mien, and famed in the three worlds, is celebrated as Mallesvara.'

After this follows a description of Satânanda's Court, &c. The crocodile then told the Rishi how Varâhasvâmî came to Mallâpurî, according to the tradition he had received from his forefathers. Formerly there was a king called Harisekara, endowed with all good qualities. He was in the habit of going daily with his aged and pious mother to worship Vishnu at Varâhakshetra,* a *yôjana* distant from Mallâpurî, to the North, and feeding Brahmans after coming back to his city. One day, Hari came to Mallâpurî disguised as an old decrepit Brahman, accompanied by his daughter, and asked for food. The king requested him to wait a little until he returned from Varâhakshetra. The old man begged for immediate relief as he was greatly fatigued and his daughter was hungry. The king then suspected that he had been visited by Vishnu in disguise, worshipped the old man and gave him food. He then saw Varâhasvâmî in his proper form, with the goddess Earth on his right hip.

The Brahmans who had come as usual for food were suddenly and miraculously filled up to the neck (*âkanthapûrnâh*) and afterwards besought Varâhasvâmî to remain always at Mallâpurî. The god

* ? The village of Tiruvadandai, near Covelong (Kôvalam.)

consented, and being asked why he looked towards the West replied that he did so because the Punyakotivimâna* was to come in the East at a distance of five *yojanas.*

'The crocodile added that his father Harinandana abdicated the throne in his favor and became an anchorite. His own name he stated to be Haripriya. (xciv. 87—180.)

The crocodile then told the story of his being cursed. One day a Brahman came and asked for food. The king in his pride treated him with contempt. The Brahman enraged cursed him saying "Become thou a crocodile, O king." The people afterwards interceded with the Brahman for their king, and were told that when he met a votary of Vishnu, the curse would be removed. (xcv. 1—20.) The crocodile then was transformed into a youth of 16 years and went to heaven. Pundarîka *Rishi* taking with him the lotuses strung in garlands, set out to worship Vishnu on the Sea of Milk and arrived at the shore of the Salt Sea. (xcv. 21—55.) The *Rishi* attempted to bale out the ocean in order to proceed on his journey! This he continued for a year, when he desisted being wearied. At this time an old Brahman approached and questioned him.

The *Rishi* told the Brahman his story and of his wish to visit Vishnu, and the latter recommended him to abandon his attempt to get over the Sea; this enraged Pundarîka who requested the Brahman either to help him or to go about his business. The old man then asked for food, girded his loins and commenced to bale. At the first handful thrown out by

* The name of the large Vishnu temple at Conjeveram.

him, the Sea receded a *kôs.* Pu*n*darîka went for food and on returning perceived that his Brahman friend was no other than Vish*n*u, whom he found reclining on the shore, with the lotus garlands round his neck, facing to the East. The Ri*sh*i then worshipped the god, as Sthalasayana, with praises and offerings of lotuses. (xcv. 56—75. xcvi. 1—10.) Vish*n*u then told Pu*n*darîka to ask a boon. The Ri*sh*i replied that having obtained Vish*n*u he sought for nothing else. "Will he who has reached the boundless Sea of nectar care for the water of a small muddy pond?" He begged that the god would always remain in that place, saying he required no other boon. Vish*n*u consented and praised Pu*n*darîka for making this request. Then came Brahmâ to the Sea shore with *Yakshas,** *Gandharvas*† and *Apsarases.*‡ The drums of the gods sounded, flowers rained from heaven, and the sound of "JAYA!" (Victory) was heard like the roaring of the Sea. All worshipped the god and goddess, and praised Vish*n*u for his accessibility *(saulabhya).* Afterwards the Brahmans, and the king Mallâdhipa or Satânanda, with the people of the city, came to the Sea shore. All were intoxicated with joy at Vish*n*u's appearance among them, and worshipped him. On being asked under what name he would dwell among them he replied "Know me as Sthalasâyî, who here recline on the ground." The King and people worshipped Vish*n*u and praised Pu*n*darîka. Mallesvara then heard the Ri*sh*i's history and was rejoiced to learn that his father had been released

* Demi-gods attendant on Kuvera, the god of wealth.

† See note § p. 204, *infra.* ‡ Nymphs of Svarga, Indra's heaven.

from the Brahman's curse and had gone to heaven. The Brahmans then bathed in the Pu*n*darîkasarasu and made offerings. The King, following the counsel of Pu*n*darîka, bestowed gifts and lands upon the Brahmans. Afterwards a *Vimâna,* called Ânanda-nilayam, having 7 pinnacles and containing a shining image, descended from Vaikuntha,* round which the king built a wall with a *Gopura.* Siva concluded with praises of Mallâpurî, (xcvi. 11—75, xcvii. 1—78, xcviii. 1—115).

Agastya accepted the arguments of Sûta, (which embodied the story of Pu*n*darîka *Ri*shi given above), took leave of him and set out for Mallâpurî. He met with favourable omens on his way and came to a great mountain called Samvartana. Hearing a confused noise above him he looked up and perceived some of Yama's† soldiers dragging away a Brahman. He then saw Vishnu's soldiers release the prisoner and heard the dispute between them and the servants of the god of death. The latter described all the great sins which the Brahman had been guilty of, the like of which had never been seen or heard, while the former maintained that having gone to Mallâpurî, and stayed one day at that holy place, all his sins had been washed away and that they who laid hands on him themselves committed sin and rendered themselves liable to be reduced to ashes. (xcix. 1—77).

Agastya was astonished and pressed on towards

* Vishnu's heaven.

† "The Deity of hell; he corresponds with the Grecian god Pluto, and the judge of hell Minos, and in Hindu mythology is often identified with Death and Time."—Wilson.

Mallâpurî. Passing through a dense forest, he saw six virgin devotees performing penance. He approached them, told them he was Agastya and saluted them. They received him with great respect, and told him they were Gangâ, transformed by a curse into the form of six bodies.

The virgins added that formerly when they were performing penance in the forest called Tilavanam all the Rishis assembled on the Himavat mountains and discussed the relative merits of the holy waters *(tîrthas)*. They praised the Gangâ and Kâverî, but agreed that the Pundarîka pond was the most excellent of all, and that Gangâ and the other rivers should be its slaves!

The Munis having thus decided, went to their respective homes. Gangâ, wandering sorrowfully, met Shanmukha,* while he was performing penance in a certain place, and told him the cause of her grief. He in reply said that she had no ground for complaint, as, great those she was, the Pundarîka pond was yet far superior. Shanmukha then told Gangâ how, after incurring the sin of killing a Brahmin in his fight with the Dânava named Târaka,† he had been cleansed from all guilt by bathing in the Pundarîka pond at Mallâpurî. He then told Gangâ that all would approve of her putting aside her jealousy and self-love, and that she would be freed from slavery by bathing in those waters. Shanmukha

* Kartikeya, as the "Six-faced."

† Kartikeya (Skanda) was born to lead the armies of the gods, and to destroy Târaka.—See Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus, p. 74 ff, Wilson's note on v. 297 of the *Meghadûta*, and Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, Part IV., pp. 292 ff, 306.

then taught Gangâ the Râmatâraka,* and told her to perform penance, repeating with six faces this mantra. This she was doing in the Tila forest. Agastya, leaving the virgins, again hastened on to Mallâpurî. (xcix. 78—134.)

Agastya reached Mallâpurî and met there a crowd of Munis round the temple of Sthalasayanasvâmî, called Ânandanilayam. Some lived on water, some lived on air, some on roots, fruits, and leaves. Emaciated in body, they retained life solely by the power derived from penance. They assumed the *Garuda*-posture, lay like snakes, or sat like fowls. Some stood on the point of the toe, others with upraised arms; some sat self-supported in the air, others between five fires.† They were Brahmins and Kshatriyas. Agastya saluted them and told them his name. They received him with different marks of respect, and he begged to be allowed to live with them without performing penance or repeating prayers, on the ground that Hari would be satisfied with simple worship. To this the Munis agreed, and told him to bathe in the Pundarîka pond with a prayerful mind. Agastya did so and then visited the temple. There he saw Sthalasayana, who had graciously descended at the prayer of his worshipper Pundarîka, reclining with his head resting on his right hand and with his left inviting his worshippers to approach him.

Agastya was submerged in the ocean of delight, and offered worship and praise to the god. Vishnu received him graciously, commanded the Muni to

* A formula addressed to Râma, as *Râmâya namah.*—Wilson.

† *Pañchâgni,*—four fires and the sun overhead.—See plate 23 in Mrs. Belnos' *Sundhya.*

worship him daily and to perform the five *Dîkshas,** and appointed him an *Âsrâma* named Asvatha on the North side of the Pundarîka pond. Vishnu then, at Agastya's desire, condescended to narrate to him how Târksha lost and recovered his wings. On one occasion when Vishnu called Garuda to carry him on a visit to Svarga, the bird came so fast that the dust he raised fell on a pious worshipper of Vishnu who was engaged in his devotions. Vishnu then in anger caused Târksha's wings to drop off, and the bird fell into a forest on the shore of the Western Sea. After bathing in vain in many holy waters he at last came to Mallâpurî where his wings began to grow. Vishnu then instructed Agastya in the mode of worship and declared that those were dear to him who loved those that loved him (*matpriyâ matpriye priyâh.*) Agastya took up his abode accordingly at Mallâpurî. (c. 1—113.)

Then Brahmâ concludes:—

तस्मान्नारद जानीहि विष्णुं सौलभ्यसागरं ।
तेनैव निर्मलं चित्तं भवेत्तव न संशयः ॥ ११४ ॥
यो जानातीह लक्ष्मीशं भक्तसौलभ्यसागरं ।
न तस्य क्षुभ्यते बुद्धिः व्यथा न प्रलयेपि च ॥ ११५ ॥
तस्मात्त्वं तत्र गत्वा तु सेवित्वा स्थलशायिनं ।
स्नात्वा सरसि पुण्ये च चित्तनैर्मल्यमेष्यसि॥ ११६ ॥

114. Therefore, O Nârada, know thou Vishnu to be an ocean of accessibility; by him, without doubt, thy mind will become clear. 115. His understanding

* *Dîksha* is the ceremony of initiation, the essential part of which is the *Tapta Mudrâ* or branding the novice with the conch and discus.—Wilson's *Essays*, Vol. I., p. 56.

will not be confused who in this world knows Lakshmîsa,* an ocean of accessibility to his votaries; even at the destruction of the world, [he will suffer] no pain. 116. Therefore having gone there, and bathed in the holy pond and worshipped Sthalasayî, thou shalt obtain purity of mind.

Nârada then goes to Mallâpurî and staying there for "many days," obtains all his desire. (c. 117, 118.)

Note.

It will be observed from the foregoing analysis of the Sthalapurâna that (1) it contains no mention of any of the old rock cut temples or of the shore temple. The Varâhasvamî temple is not an exception, inasmuch as the formation of this temple by enclosing the sculptured representation of the Boar Incarnation on the West face of the hill is of modern date.† And (2) no allusion whatever is made herein to the story of Bali or the submersion of his city.

This legend appears to have been composed for the purpose of attracting pilgrims to the place after the construction of the modern Vishnu temples. The Vaishnava author ingeniously makes Brahmâ, Śiva, Kârtikeya and all the Saints extol the sin-destroying virtue of Mallâpurî.

The names of kings mentioned in the Mallâpurî Mâhâtmya appear to be fictitious.

* Vishnu, as "Lakshmî's lord." † See p. 55, *supra*.

Description of the Pagodas, &c., at Mâvalivaram, written in the Telugu language by KÂVALI LAKSHMAYYA *in* 1803. [*With a translation.*]

[From the Mackenzie MSS., No. 33. C. M. 787.]

౧. పర్వతానికి వుత్తరభాగము యీశ్వరునికోవెల. ఇందులో యీశ్వరుడు వున్నాడు. ఈ కోవెలముందరనందిని లార్డు క్లైవు యెత్తుకొని పోయినాడు.

౨. దీనికిముందర రెండు కోతులు పేలుచూచుకొంటూ వున్నవి.

3. ఆపడమటిపక్కను పాండవులధర్మపత్ని అయిన ద్రౌపది పెరుగుచిలికినతొట్టి వకటి గుండుగా వున్నది. మూడుమంటపాలు యేకశిలను సన్నముగా తొలిచినవి వున్నవి. మంటపము ౧-కి వున్న చిత్రాలు-ద్వారపాలకులు ౨, లోపల దుర్గ చతుర్భుజాలతోటి వున్నది. పరిచారకవిగ్రహాలు ర వున్నవి. తతిమ్మా రెండు అరలకు యిదే ప్రకారముగా వున్నది. ఈ శిలను దక్షిణపువయిపు పడమటిముఖముచేసుకొని వక దుర్గ అష్టభుజాలతోటి మహిషాసురునిశిరస్సుమీద తనపాదమువేసి తొక్కి వున్నది.

౪. ఇందుకు సమీపముగా దక్షిణభాగమందు భూటకు పడమటివైపు భీమసేనుడు పాకముచేసిన పొయి వున్నది. దానిమీదికి యెక్కేటందుకు సోపానాలు వున్నవి.

౫. అందుకు సమీపముగా దక్షిణభాగమందు బండమీదను ద్రౌపది చేశినవెన్నముద్ద శక గొప్పగుండుగా వున్నది. అందులో సగము పిల్లి తినిపోయినది అని మొర్రిగా అగుపడుతూ వున్నది. ఆ పిల్లి అర్జునుడు తపస్సుచేసుకొంటూ వున్న పర్వతానకు కట్టివేశినట్టుగా ముందరికాళ్లు పైకి యెత్తుకొని వున్నది.

౬. ఇందుకు దక్షిణపువైపు యేకశిలతోటి అజ్ఞనునిరథము వున్నది. ఈశిల తొలిచి కింద మంటపముతొలిచి రెండుస్తంభాలతో అందులో నున్న గర్భగుడి యేర్పరిచి శివప్రతిష్ఠ చేశినారు. ఆ లింగాన్ని బూ** యెత్తుకపోతే యీ స్థలములోవారు దగ్గిర వక వినాయకుడు వుండగా తీసుకపోయి అందులో వుంచినారు. ఈ గర్భగుడికి దక్షిణపు గోడ మీదను శాసనమేమేమో వ్రాసినారు. అది యే లిపి అయినది తెలిశినది కాదు.

౭. ఇందుకు సమీపముగా దక్షిణభాగమందు వరాహస్వామి వుండే యేక శిలామంటపము వున్నది. ఇందులో స్తంభాలు ౨, గర్భగుడి ౧-యీ గర్భ గుడిలో యేమీ ప్రతిమలు లేవు. ద్వారపాలకులు యిద్దరు. ఈ గర్భగు డికి వుత్తరభాగమందు గోడమీదన్న వరాహస్వామి వామపాదము భూమి యందు వుంచుకొని, దక్షిణపాదము ఆదిశేషునిశిరస్సుమీద బెట్టి, దక్షిణో రువుమీద లక్ష్మీఅమ్మవారిని అభిముఖముగా వుంచుకొని, దక్షిణహస్తము అమ్మ వారి పిరుదులమీద వుంచుకొని, వామహస్తముచేత దక్షిణపాదము ధరించి తాను పశ్చిమాభిముఖుడై అమ్మవారు పూర్వాభిముఖముతో వుండగా, వరా హస్వామివారు కడమ రెండుబాహులయందు శంఖచక్రాలు ధరించి చతు ర్భుజయుక్తుడై ఆన్యోన్యముఖావలోకన చేస్తూ క్రీడావిలాసాధీనము అమ్మ వారి దక్షిణస్తనము తనవరాహముఖముతో చుంబనముచేస్తూ వున్నాడు. ఇత నికివెనుక పూర్వభాగము చతుర్భుజాయుక్తముగా వక పురుషప్రతిమ వున్నది. ఈ ప్రతిమకు అభిముఖముగా వక స్త్రీ ప్రతిమ వున్నది. ఈ యిద్దరి మీద వక భక్తుడు కృతాంజలియుక్తుడై స్తుతిచేస్తూ వున్నాడు. వరాహ స్వామిని ముగ్గురు భక్తులు స్తుతిచేస్తూ వున్నారు. అంతు వుత్తరభాగమందు వుండే ప్రతిమలు ౯. పూర్వభాగము గోడమీదను పశ్చిమముఖముగా పద్మా సనముమీద గజలక్ష్మి వున్నది. ఈమెశిరస్సుమీద గజముఖాలు రెండు వున్నవి. ఈ లక్ష్మికి వుభయపార్శ్వములయందు యిద్దరు యిద్దరు స్త్రీలు అభిషేకార్థము పూర్ణకుంభాలు గజతొండానకు అందిస్తూ వున్నారు. ద్వా రపాలకుడు ఫకడు వున్నాడు. అంతు స్త్రీలు ౫, పురుషప్రతిమ ౧, గజ ముఖాలు ౨ వున్నవి. దక్షిణభాగమందు యేకఛత్రము ధరించి చతుర్భుజా యుక్తుడాలైన వక దుర్గ వున్నది. ఈమెకు దక్షిణభాగమందు ముగ్గురు భటులు

ఖడ్గధారులై వున్నారు. వకబింక వున్నది. వుత్తరభాగమందు ఖడ్గధారులై ముగ్గురు భటులున్ను వకసింహమున్ను వున్నవి. ద్వారపాలకుడు వకడు వున్నాడు. అంతు ప్రతిమలు ౯, సింహము ౧, బింక ౧. వరాహస్వామికి యెదురుగా దక్షిణపుగోడకు త్రివిక్రముడు అష్టభుజాయుక్తుడై శంఖచక్ర గదాది సాధనంబులు ధరించి వున్నాడు. ఇతనికి బలిచక్రవర్తి మూడు పాదాలభూమిదానము యిచ్చె గనుక దక్షిణపాదముచేత భూమి యావత్తు ఆక్రమించి యీపాదము భూమియందు వుంచి వామపాదము వూర్ధ్వలోకము ఆక్రమించేనిమిత్తము ఆకాశమందు వుంచుకొని వుండగా యీపాదానకు బ్రహ్మ తన కమండలోదకముచేత అభిషేకము చేసి పూజిస్తూ వున్నాడు. ఇతనికి యెదురుగా జాంబవంతుడు వున్నాడు. బలిచక్రవర్తి దత్తాపహారముచేయరాదని మూడోపాదముకు భూమిదానము చెయ్యవలెనని స్వామిపాదముదగ్గిర ప్రార్థనచేస్తూ వున్నాడు. ఇతనివెనుక శుక్రాచార్యుడు వున్నాడు. ఈ బలిచక్రవర్తిభటులు పూర్వమందు యిద్దరు పశ్చిమమందు నలుగురు వున్నారు. అంతు ప్రతిమలు ౧౧ వున్నవి. ఇవి పురుషప్రతిమలు, ఈ మంటపము పశ్చిమాభిముఖముగా వున్నది.

౯. పర్వతానకు పూర్వభాగము కొండకింద మెట్టుమీదను కృష్ణస్వామివారు ఆడుకొని సింహాసనము యెక్కడానకు పదకొండుపడికట్లు. ఆ మెట్లమీదినుంచి ఆటలచేతను జారుతూ వచ్చేవారు. దానియొక్క ఆవవాలు వున్నది.

౯. ఈ పర్వతానకు పూర్వభాగమందు అర్జునుడు తపస్సుచేసినట్లు కిరాతార్జునులవలెనే పర్వతానికి ప్రతిమలు చెక్కినారు. ఇక్కడ అర్జునుడు బాహుద్వయము శిరస్సునందు వూర్ధ్వముగా వుంచుకొని తపస్సుచేస్తూ వుండగా ఈశ్వరుడు చతుర్భుజాయుక్తుడై పాశుపతాస్త్రము డమరుకము త్రిశూలము మొదలయిన ఆయుధాలు ధరించి ప్రత్యక్షమైనాడు. ఈశ్వరార్జునులమధ్యమందు బాడిశె దక్షిణభుజముమీద వుంచుకొని దక్షిణహస్తముచేత పిడి పట్టుకొని విశ్వకర్త వున్నాడు. ఈశ్వరుని శిరస్సుమీద సూర్యచంద్రాదులు వున్నారు. అర్జునునికి దిగువభాగమందు కృష్ణస్వామి విమానములో శంఖచక్ర గదాదిధరుడై చతుర్భుజాలతో వున్నాడు. ఇతనికి దక్షిణమందు ద్రోణాచార్యుడు తపస్సుచేస్తూ శుష్కీభూతమైనశరీ

రమకలవాడై పద్మాసనాసీనుడై వున్నాడు. ఈ కృష్ణునికి వామభాగ మందు పర్వతము పగిలినది గనుక పాతాళలోకమునుంచి నాగకన్యకలు వెల్లివచ్చినట్టుగానే పంచకన్యకలతోకూడా అర్జునుని వుద్దేశించి నాగ కన్యక వచ్చినది. ఇందుకు వుత్తరభాగమందు ఐరావతమనే గజముమీద ఇంద్రుడు భార్యాయుక్తముగా శివదర్శనానకు వచ్చినాడు అన్నట్టుగానే వున్నాడు. ఈ ఐరావతానకు వెనుక వక యేనుగు వున్నది. ఐరావతము కింద యేనుగుపిల్లలు మూడు వున్నవి. పిల్లి తన పిల్లలతోకూడా వూర్ధ్వ బాహువులతో పూర్వాభిముఖముగా వున్నది. ఈ దేవేంద్రునికి వలయా కృతిగా గరుడగంధర్వకిన్నరకింపురుషసిద్ధవిద్యాధరులు మొదలైనవారు కొం దరు భార్యానహితులై కొందరు భార్యారహితులై తపోమూర్తులై శివ దర్శనానకు వచ్చినట్టుగానే ప్రతిమలు చెక్కినారు. ఇక్కడ ప్రతిమలు ౩౬ వున్నవి. ఈ దేవతలమధ్యమందు జింకలు 3 వున్నవి. వీటికివెనుక వుత్తరభాగమున మధ్యమందు సింహాలు ౭ వున్నవి. గొర్రె ౧ వున్నది, ఈశ్వరునికి దక్షిణభాగమందు మీదితట్టున ధర్మరాజు భీముడు తపస్సుచే స్తూ కూర్చున్నారు. వీరికి దక్షిణమందు పంది వ్యాఘ్రము వున్నవి. ఈశ్వరునికి దక్షిణభాగమందు ప్రమథగణాలు ఋషులు శివదర్శనానకు వచ్చినట్టుగానే చెక్కివున్న ప్రతిమలు ౨౮వున్నవి. సింహము ౧-పంది ౧-జింకలు 3-వ్యాఘ్రము ౧-గోతులు ౨-ఈప్రకారము భార్యా యుక్త ముగా చిత్రవిచిత్రముగా వున్నారు. అంతుప్రతిమలు స్త్రీ పురుషులు సహా ౬౦ వున్నవి.

౧౦. ఇందుకు దక్షిణము యేకశిలామంటపము. పంచపాండవులు పేరు కలిగినది వున్నది. అందుకు స్తంభాలు ౧౮-కి విరిగిపోయినది ౧ గాక తతిమ్మా ౧౭ స్తంభాలు. తతిమ్మా ౧౭ స్తంభాలలోను నాలుగుకాళ్లు విరుగు చూపినవి. లోతక్కువ బాగా వున్నవి. ముందరి స్తంభాలకు సింహముల మూతులు వున్నవి. పెరశి పింహాలూ ఈ మంటపమధ్యను అర వకటి వున్నది. ఇందులో మరేమి లేదు. ఈ అరకు యిరుపార్శ్వాలా అరలు కట్టవలెనని మొదలుపెట్టినారుగాని పూరాకాలేదు. అరకు యివతల వయిపు అవతలవయిపు గుహలాగు వేరే కాకుండా మంటపములోనే వున్నది. మరేమి యెక్కువ చిత్రాలులేవు, పాడావి.

౧౧. ఈ మంటపానకు దక్షిణము రాయలగోపురముయెక్క ఆమీద రాయలుగోపురము మట్టుమాత్రముచేశి నాలుగువయిపులా నాలుగు స్తంభాలుమాత్రము నాటినారు. చుట్టూ రాతితిన్నె వేశినారుగాని గోపురము కాలేదు.

౧౨. ఇందుకు తూర్పువయిపు స్థళశేఖరస్వామిగుడి.

౧౩. పర్వతానికి పూర్వభాగమందు కృష్ణుడు గోవర్ధనగిరి యెత్తిన మంటపము ౧. ఇందుకు స్తంభాలు ౧౨. ఈ మంటపము పర్వతముకు అంటుకొని పూర్వాభిముఖముగా వున్నది. ఈ మంటపములో వుండే ప్రతిమలు కృష్ణుడు వామహస్తముతో గోవర్ధనగిరి గొడుగుగా యెత్తినాడు. దక్షిణ హస్తముచేత గోపికాజనానకు అభయము యిస్తూవున్నాడు. ఈ స్వామికి వామభాగమందు 3 స్త్రీప్రతిమలు వున్నవి. ఇందులో యిద్దరు స్త్రీలు నిలుచుకొని వున్నారు. వకతె తలమీద పెరుగుకుండ వుంచుకొని చిన్న వాణ్ని ముందర పెట్టుకొని వున్నది. దీనివెనుక వకగొల్లవాడు నెత్తిమీద వకపిల్ల చేత వకశిశువును వుంచుకొనివున్నాడు. ఈ నలుగురిమీద గోముఖాలు ౬ వున్నవి. వీరివెనుక వృషభేశ్వరుడు శయనించినాడు. ఇతనికింద సింహాలు ర వున్నవి. ఈ కృష్ణునికి దక్షిణభాగమందు బలరాముడు వున్నాడు. ఇతను తన వామహస్తము వకగొల్లవానిమీద వేసుకొని వ్యత్యస్తపాదుడై వున్నాడు. ఈ గొల్లవానికి వామభాగము వక స్త్రీ వున్నది. వీరిమీద గోముఖాలు ౫ వున్నవి. ఈ బలరామునికి దక్షిణమందు ఆవును పాలు పితుకుతూ వొక గొల్లవాడు వున్నాడు. ఈ ఆవు ముందర దీనివత్సము వొకటి వున్నది. ఇందుకుమీదను ఆవులు చేరేచానికి ఒక గొల్లవాడు పిల్లంగ్రోవి వూదుతూ వున్నాడు. ఇతనిఅంచున వక స్త్రీ పిల్లను వుంచుకొని వున్నది. ఈ ఆవు ముందర రోలు మోసుకొని వక స్త్రీ పెరుగుకుండలవుట్టి చేతపట్టుకొని వున్నది. దీనికి దక్షిణము వృషభేశ్వరుడు నిలుచుకొని వున్నాడు. ఈ వృషభమువెనుక వక గొల్లవాడు గొల్లది నిలుచుకొని వున్నారు. ఈ వృషభమువెనుక వక గొల్లవాడు స్త్రీ దక్షిణహస్తము తన వామహస్తముచేతే పట్టుకొని వున్నాడు. ఈ వృషభేమీద గోముఖాలు ౧౬, ముందరభాగమందు దూడ ౧, దక్షిణపుగోడక్కు సింహముఖాలు ౬ వున్నవి. అంతు యీ మంటపములో వుండేవి వుత్తర

దక్షిణపుగోడకు సింహాలు ౧౦, స్త్రీ పురుష ప్రతిమలు ౧౬, పిల్లలు ౫ వృషభాలు ౨, ఆవు ౧, చూడలు ౨, గోముఖాలు ౨౬ వున్నవి.

౧౪. ఈ మంటపానకు దక్షిణము రామానుజమంటపమని వున్నది. ఇది కొండను తొలిచి చేశినారు. ఇందుకు మధ్య స్తంభాలు ౨, పూర్వ పశ్చిమము ఆడుగులు ౨౦, వుత్తర దక్షిణము ఆడుగులు ౨౬, ఇందులో ప్రతిమలు లేవు. స్తంభాలకు యేక శిలామంటపములో సింహ ముఖాలు ౪ వున్నవి. లోపల వుత్తరదక్షిణము రెండు గోడలను నన్న గోపురాలవలె యేర్పరిచి గూళ్లు తవ్వినారు. అందులో ప్రతిమలు వున్నవి. ఈ మంట పముముందర స్తంభాలు రాళ్లతో చేశినిలిపినవి ౬ వున్నవి. ఇందుకు దక్షిణభాగము కొండశిలకే 113 మెట్లు చేశినారు. ఈ మంటపముమీద వెలు గోటి శింగమనాయడిమంటపము. ఇందుకు స్తంభాలు ౪. ఇది పడ్డివాండ్లు చేత రాళ్లుతెప్పించి కట్టించినారుకారు, శిల్పప్రకారము కట్టించినదికాదు. ఇప్పుడు అంతా శిథిలమైనది.

౧౫. ఇందుకు దక్షిణభాగమందు పెద్దగుండువకటి మంటపము చెయ్యి వలెనని రెండు స్తంభాలుచేశి యేకశిలామంటపానకు కొంత శిల తొలిచి నారు. ఆది పూరాకాలేదు గనుక ఆది గుండుకు గురుతుగా వున్నది.

౧౬. ఈ మంటపానకు దక్షిణము ధర్మరాజువారిమంటపమని యేక శిలామంటపము వున్నది. ఇందుకు స్తంభాలు ౪, గభ్‌గుళ్లు 3. ఇందులో మరేమి ప్రతిమలు లేవు. మధ్యవున్న గభ్‌గుడికి ద్వారపాలకులకు నగము పనిచేశిన ప్రతిమలు ౨ వున్నవి. ఈ మంటపము యిప్పుడు చేశినదానివ లెనె శిథిలముకాకుండా వున్నది.

౧౭. ఈ మంటపానకు తూర్పు కొండకిందను పూర్వభాగము రెండు పెద్ద గుండ్లు వుండగా వాటిమీదనున్ను అర్జునుడు తపస్సు చేశినట్టుగా చేశి నారు. అక్కడ యీశ్వరుడు చతుర్భుజాకృతిగా వామహస్తమందు పాశు పతము ధరించినాడు. అర్జునుడు వూర్ధ్వబాహుడై తపస్సుచేస్తూ వున్నాడు. వీరికి వుత్తరభాగమందు గరుడగంధర్వకిన్నరవిద్యాధరసిద్ధచారణఋషులు మొదలయినవారుగానున్ను స్త్రీలుగానున్ను యేనుగులు సింహాలుగానున్ను ప్రతిమలు చేశినారు. ఇది కొంతపని సాగినది, కొంతపని సాగలేదు.

౧౨. పర్వతదక్షిణభాగమందు కొండమీద యేకశిలామంటపము వున్నది. ఇందుకు గ్రామనామము యమపురిమంటపమని అంటారు. ఇందు కు స్తంభాలు ౬, శిథిలమైన స్తంభము ౧ గాక తతిమ్మా ౫ స్తంభాలు బాగా వున్నవి. గర్భగుళ్లు 3-కి మధ్యవున్న గర్భగుడికి కైలానమనే నామము కలిగినది. ఇందులో చతుర్భుజాకృతితో వామపాదము వృషభముమీద వుంచుకొని పరమేశ్వరుడు వున్నాడు. వీరికి వామభాగమందు పార్వతి కుమారస్వామిని వూరువుమీద వుంచుకొని వున్నది. ఈ పార్వతీ పరమే శ్వరులమధ్యమందు శంఖచక్రగదాధరుడై చతుర్భుజాకృతితో విష్ణువున్నా డు. పరమేశ్వరదక్షిణభాగము బ్రహ్మ చతుర్ముఖాలతో వున్నాడు. పార్వతి కింద సేవకజనము స్త్రీ ౧ వున్నది. ఈ పార్వతీపరమేశ్వరులు రెండు సింహతలాటాలే కాళ్లుగా కలిగిన మంచముమీద కూర్చుండియున్నారు. ఈ మంచముకింద వృషభము ౧ శివునివాహుపాడము మోసుకొని వున్నది. ద్వార పాలకులు ౨ వున్నారు. ఇందుకు వుభయపార్శ్వములయందున్ను వున్న గర్భగుళ్లలో ప్రతిమలు లేవు. మంటపములో దక్షిణపుగోడను శేషతల్పము మీద రంగనాయకులు పూర్వశిరస్సుతో శయనించినారు. పశ్చిమభాగమం దు పాదాలదగ్గిర యిద్దరు భటులు. ఇద్దరిలో రంగనాయకులవారిభటుడు ౧, మహిషాసురుని భటుడు ౧. ఈ భటులు యిద్దరు బాహాబాహీ ముష్టాముష్టి దంతాదంతి నఖానఖి కేశాకేశులతో జగడము చేశేటట్టుగా వున్నారు. ఇతనిమీద గంధర్వులు యిద్దరు వున్నారు. అడుగున పరిచారకజనులు ముగ్గు రు వున్నారు. ఈ వుత్తరపుగోడను మహిషాసురమర్దని అమ్మవారు అష్టభా హులతో ఖడ్గధారులై ప్రమథగణాలు అయిన భటులు ౯ మంది, స్త్రీ ప్రతిమ ౧, వెరశి ౯ ప్రతిమలచేతను యుక్తమైనదై సింహవాహనముమీద కూర్చుండి పూర్వాభిముఖముగా ధనుస్సు తన వామహస్తముచేత ధరించి దక్షిణహస్తముతో బాణసంధానముచేశి యుద్ధానకు అభిముఖుడైన మహి షాసురునిమీద వెయ్యవలెనని ఆకర్ణాంతము యీడ్చినది. కడమ బాహుల యందు ఖడ్గగదాఘంటాశంఖపరశుతోమరంబులుమొదలైన ఆయుధంబులు ధరియించి ఛత్రచామరంబులుపట్టుకొని సేనకజనంబు పరివేష్టించియుండగా కోపోద్దీపితురాలై మహిషాసురుని సంహారముచేయవలెనని బాణసంధా నము చేశినది. ఈశక్తికి యెదురుగా మహిషముఖము కలిగి పశ్చిమాభి ముఖుడై అమ్మవారికి అభిముఖముగా తన ద్విబాహులయందు గదధరి

యించి వుగ్రుడై అమ్మవారితో యుద్ధముచెయ్యవలెనని మహిషాసురుడు వున్నాడు. ఇతనికి ఛత్రచామరాలుధరించి ఆయుధసహితులై భటులు యుద్ధముచేశేవారివలెనే వున్నారు. ప్రతిమలు 8 వున్నవి. ఈమంట పానకుయెదురుగా పూర్వభాగమందు గుండు వకటి విమానేముచేయవలెనని ఆరంభముచేశినారు. ఆది పూరా కా లేదు. ఈ గుడికి వుత్తరభాగమందు మహిషాసురునితలగడ పరుపు వకటి రాతితో వున్నది.

౧౯. ఈ మంటపముమీద వైళక్కణ్ణేశ్వరస్వామిగుడి. ఈగుడిలో వున్నస్వామివారికి యీపట్నము భాగా వున్నప్పుడు అంగడికి వకచిన్నరూక యెత్తితే కాలుపడిరూకలు వచ్చేవి. అరవ మాటలో కాలుపడిఅనగా వొళక్కుఅంటారు. తెనుగున తక్కువ్వెడు అని అంటారు. ఇప్పుడు యీస్వామి వారు యెక్కడనో దొలిచిపోయినారు. అడవి యావత్తు ఛేదిస్తే అలింగము అగుపడుతుందని అన్నారు.

౨౦. ఈ పర్వతానికి నైరృతిమూలగాను వరాహస్వామివారిగుడి వున్నది. ఇందుకు స్తంభాలు ౮, గర్భగుడి ౧. దీనికి గుహ అనే సంజ్ఞ. ఇది పర్వతానికేతొలిచినారు. దీనికిముందర సరిగా భక్తాదులు ౬ స్తంభాలతో మంటపముకట్టించినారు. దీనికి ప్రాకారము వున్నది. ప్రాకారమధ్యమందు వకబావిన్ని పెంకాయచెట్లున్ను వున్నవి. ఈదేవస్థానము పశ్చిమాభిముఖముగా వున్నది. గర్భగుడిలో వరాహస్వామి వున్నాడు. ఈ వరాహస్వామి వామపాదము భూమియందు వుంచుకొని దక్షిణపాదముదగ్గిర భార్యాయుక్తముగావున్న ఆదిశేషునిశిరసుమీద వుంచుకొని దక్షిణోరువుమీద లక్ష్మీఅమ్మవారిని అభిముఖముగావుంచుకొని వామహస్తముచేత దక్షిణపాదముధరించి దక్షిణహస్తము అమ్మవారి పిరుదులమీద వుంచుకొని తాను పశ్చిమాభిముఖుడై అమ్మవారు పూర్వాభిముఖముతోవుండగా వరాహస్వామివారు కడమ రెండుభాహువులయందు శంఖచక్రాలుధరియించి చతుర్భుజాయుక్తుడై అన్యోన్యముఖావలోకనచేస్తూ క్రీడావిలాసార్థము అమ్మవారి దక్షిణస్తనము తనవరాహముఖముతో చుంబనముచేస్తూ వున్నాడు. ఈస్వామివారే హరిశేఖరరాజుకు ప్రత్యక్షమయినారు గనుక అప్పుడు వరాహస్వామివారిని పశ్చిమాభిముఖముగా వున్ననిమిత్తమేమని హరిశేఖరరాజు అడిగితే అందుకు స్వామివారు ముందర కంచిలో పుణ్యకోటివిమానముతో వరదరాజస్వామివారు అవతారముచేస్తారు గనుక ఈముఖముగా

వున్నామని చెప్పినారు. ఇది పురాణప్రసిద్ధము. ఈస్వామికి పూజపుర స్కారములు నేటివరకు నడుస్తూ వున్నవి. ఈస్వామికి చిత్తరువు సంబంధ మైనవన్నె చెట్టినారు. గర్భగుడికి దక్షిణభాగమందు వకశక్తి చతుర్భుజా యుక్తముగా వున్నది. ఈ శక్తికి దక్షిణభాగమందు హరిశేఖరరాజు యిద్దరు భార్యలతో వున్నాడు. ఇతనికి వామ భాగమందు చతుర్భుజాలతో వక పురుషప్రతిమ వున్నది. ఆ గర్భగుడికి వుత్తరభాగమందు గజలక్ష్మి వున్నది. ఉత్తరభాగముగోడను శ్రీరాములప్రతిమ వున్నది. ఈశ్రీరాములవారిని స్తుతి చేస్తూ ఆంజనేయుడు వున్నాడు. ఇంకా అక్కడ కొన్ని ప్రతిమలువున్నవి. వాటిపేర్లు తెలియలేదు. ఈదేవస్థానానికి ఉత్తరపువైపున ప్రాకారములో వల శాసనము వున్నది. ఈ దేవుడు పురాణప్రసిద్ధము.

౨౧. ఈ గుడికి వుత్తరపువైపు కొండకు నట్టనడుమ వకమంటపము వున్నది. వెళక్కణ్ణేశ్వరస్వామిగుడికి పడమటివయిపు అడవిలో వున్నది. అది యేక శిలామంటపము. ఇందులో యేమి యెక్కువ చిత్రాలు లేవు. అరలు నాలుగు మొదలుపెట్టినారుగాని పూరా కాలేదు. ఇందుకు స్తంభాలు ౮ వున్నవి. ఇదిగాక పర్వతానికి వుత్తరభాగమందు పడికట్లు ౨౬ వున్నవి.

౨౨. కొండమధ్యమందు ద్రౌపదీదేవిపసుపుతొట్టి వకటి. కిందట దానిదగ్గిర మహలుకట్టినస్థలము. ఇందుకు గుర్తులు యిటికెలుమొదలైనవి వున్నవి.

౨౩. ఈ తొట్టికి వుత్తరము ధర్మరాజుసింహాసనము అని సింహతలగడగా వున్నది. అందుకువుత్తరముగా పాండవులు ఔపాసనముచేసిన హోమగుం డాలు ౫ వున్నవి.

౨౪. ఈ సింహాసనానకు పూర్వభాగము పాండవులు బియ్యముకడిగిన నీరు పొయ్యేటందుకు కాలవ వకటి వున్నది. ఆ కాలవఅంచున ధనము పెరికెగానే సంచి ఆకృతిగా వున్నది. ఆ నీరు ఆచేటందుకు దొన వకటి. ఆ దొనకు తూర్పువైపున దొనలో దిగేటందుకు పావంచాలు వున్నవి. మహ లుకు తిన్నగా రాయలగోపురము అని మట్టువేశేటప్పుడు దగ్గిరకొండను గోపురముదగ్గిరపెద్దరాళ్లకు తూట్లుపెట్టి రాయిభేదించవలెనని తూట్లుపెట్టి నారు. ఆ పని పూరా కాలేదు. ఆ రాళ్లు కోతిరాళ్లు అని చెప్పుతారు.

ఈ పర్వతానకు పశ్చిమభాగమందు కలిశివున్నయేకశిలామంటప ములు ౨-కి కొంచెము కథ వున్నది. ఇందుకు మంటపము దక్షిణభాగ మందువున్నదానికి స్తంభాలు ౧౨. ఇందులో గర్భగుళ్లు ౫. ఈ గర్భగుళ్ల లోగా దేవుండ్లు ప్రతిమలు లేవు. ఇందుకు గర్భగుడి ౧-కి ద్వారపాల కులు ౨ చొ॥ ౧౦ మంది ద్వారపాలకులు వున్నారు. ఉత్తరపుగోడను శంఖము వున్నది. ఇందులో లింగాలను తీశివేశిన గుంత సహా వున్నది. ఈ గుడిముందర నీళ్లునిలిచేమడుగు ౧ వున్నది. అక్కడ పేముపొదలు వున్నవి. వుత్తరభాగమందువున్న మంటపానకు స్తంభాలు ర, గర్భగుళ్లు లేవు. ప్రతిమలు నాస్తి. ఈ మంటపము పని పూరా కా లేదు. ఈ మంటపానకు వుత్తరభాగము యేకశిలామంటపము ౧-కి స్తంభాలు ౨. మరేమియెక్కు వలు లేవు. ద్వారపాలకులు ౨ వున్నారు. ఆర వకటి వున్నది.

౨౫. పన్నెండుస్తంభాలమంటపము వకటి.

౨౬. నాలుగుస్తంభాలమంటపము వకటి.

౨౭. రెండుస్తంభాలమంటపము వకటి.

౨౮. ఈ కొండకు పడమటిపార్శ్వము వుప్పుకయ్య వున్నది.

౨౯. ఈ వుప్పుకయ్య పర్వతమునందు మూడు రథాలువున్నవి. రెండు రథాలకు మాత్రము లోపల శిలతొలిచి ఆరలు చేశినారు. మరివక రథానికి వుత్తరముఖముగా అర మొదలుపెట్టినారుగాని పూరా కా లేదు. దీనిదగ్గర లింగము పానవట్టమున్ను చతుర్భుజాయుక్తమైనగ్రామదేవతగుడిన్ని వున్నది. దీనిదగ్గరవున్నకొండను రాళ్లుకొట్టి తిరువళిక్కేణి పుడపల్లికట్టడానకు రవా నాచేస్తూ వున్నారు.

౩౦. పర్వతానికి దక్షిణభాగము ఆరగడియచూరము శక్తి చతుర్భుజాయు క్తముగా వున్నది. దక్షిణహస్తమందు చక్రము ధరించినది. ఈమెకు సేవా వృత్తికై భటులు ఖడ్గధారులై వుభయపార్శ్వములయందు ఆరుగురు వున్నా రు. ఈమె పశ్చిమాభిముఖముగావున్నది, యెదురుగా పెద్దసింహము వుత్తరాభిముఖముగా వున్నది. ఈశక్తివిమానము యేకశిలతో వున్నది, ద్వార పాలకులు స్త్రీలు యిద్దరు వున్నారు. చతుర్భుజాయుక్తముగా స్త్రీ ప్రతి

మలు దక్షిణభాగమందు ౧, పూర్వమందు ౧, వుత్తరమందు ౧, యింగులో వుండేశక్తిపేరు తెలియలేదు. అంతు స్త్రీ ప్రతిమలు ౧౨.

౩౧. ఈ విమానముదెనుక పశ్చిమముఖముగా పెద్ద వృషభేశ్వరప్రతిమ వున్నది. అది భూమిలో పూడి వున్నది. అది చూడవలెనని కొంత యినుక తీశినారుగనుక నగము అగపడుతూ వున్నది.

౩౨. ఈ విమానము దక్షిణభాగమందు నకులునివిమానము యేకశిలతోటి వున్నది. దానికి అడుగున కొంత మంటపము వున్నది. అందులో ప్రతిమలు లేవు. ఈ విమానపు వుత్తరభాగము ప్రతిమలు ౬, పూర్వభాగము ప్రతిమలు ౫, దక్షిణము ౭ వున్నవి.

౩౩. ఈ విమానము పశ్చిమభాగమందు సహదేవునివిమానము యేకశిలతో వున్నది. మంటపము నన్నవి రెండుస్తంభాలతో దక్షిణముఖముగా వున్నది. యిందులో ప్రతిమలు లేవు. ఈ విమానముచుట్టూ చిత్తరుగా వున్నది. దీని అంచుననే పూర్వభాగమందు యేకశిలతో వకయేనుగు దక్షిణాభిముఖముగా వున్నది.

౩౪. ఈ విమానానకు పూర్వభాగమందు భీమునివిమానము వున్నది. యేకశిలతో మంటపమువలెనే పశ్చిమముఖముగా వున్నది. ఇందుకు స్తంభాలు పశ్చిమమందు ౬, దక్షిణమందు ౨, పూర్వమందు ౪, వెరశి ౧౨ స్తంభాలచేతను ఈ విమానము బహుగొప్పది, దీనిమీద పిడుగు పడి నడిమికి చీలినది.

౩౫. ఈ విమానానికి దక్షిణము ధర్మరాజువిమానము వున్నది. ఇందుకు స్తంభాలు పశ్చిమమందు ౪. ఈ విమానముచుట్టు ప్రతిమలు ౯ వున్నవి. ఈ విమానముమీద ప్రదక్షిణము చెయ్యడానకు రెండు ప్రాకారములు వున్నవి. ఈ ప్రాకారములకే చిత్తరువుప్రతిమలు ౨౧. ప్రాకారములలో రెండుఅరలు, స్తంభాలు ౨ వున్నవి. ఈ పయినివ్రాశిన ౯ ప్రతిమలలో దక్షిణపూర్వోత్తరమువున్న ౫ ప్రతిమల శిరసుమీద అక్షరాలువ్రాశినారు. అవి తెలియ లేదు.

౩౬. గ్రామములో స్థలశయనస్వామిగుడితూర్పుద్వారముగోపురము వాకిళ్లు ౫ వున్నవి. దక్షిణమువయిపున ప్రాకారానకులోపల గర్భగుడి

లో స్థలశయనస్వామివారు దక్షిణశిరసుపెట్టుకొని శయనించినారు. పాదాలదగ్గిర పుండరీకమహాముని న్నిల్లు తామరయున్ను వున్నవి. ఈ మహాముని కియ్యకడనే ముక్తిదొరికినది. ఇందుకు దక్షిణపువయిపు యలమంగనాంచారుగుడి, వుత్తరపువైపున చూడికుడుతఅమ్మవారిగుడి, చుట్టూ ఆళ్వార్లగుళ్లు ౯, తిరుమడపల్లి ౧, ధ్వజస్తంభము ౧, తర్వాత సామగ్రివుండే వుగ్రాణముకొట్లు వకటి. గోపురమువాకిలికి యిరుపార్శ్వములలో బొమ్మలు కోతులుకలిశినచిత్తరువు వ్రాశి వున్నది. గోపురము వాకిలికియివతల వుత్తర భాగమందు ముప్పైఆరుకాళ్లమంటపము. స్వామినారు వుత్సవదినాలలో అందులోవచ్చివుండేది. ఈగుడికి ప్రాకారము వకటి, చుట్టూవున్న స్తంభాలు ౧౨౨.

32. గోపురమువాకిటికి తిన్నగా తూర్పుభాగాన రాయులగోపురము అంతా ఛిద్రమైపోయినది. ఇందుచేతను చతుస్సమము ౪౪ అడుగులు కిందిమట్టు యివతల వక ఆరలాగున వుంటుంది. అందులో మశేమి యెక్కువ వింతలు లేవు. ఇంగుకు తూర్పున కృష్ణస్వామివారి పుట్టిన మనాడు వుట్లుయెక్కేమంటపము. అందుకు స్తంభాలు ౪, పయిన గోపురము.

33. ఇందుకుతూర్పున స్థలశయనస్వామివారిపువ్వులతోట. అందులో శ్రీహనుమాన్లగుడిమంటపము. ఆ లోపల గర్భగుడిలో స్వామి. ఆ స్వామిని ఆందిలిను యెత్తుకొనిపోయెను.

34. ఈ హనుమాన్లగుడికి పూర్వము పూదత్తాళ్వారు ఆవతరించినమంటపము. అది శిథిలమయిపోయినది. ఇప్పుడు ౧౬ స్తంభాలు మాత్రము వున్నవి. ఈమంటపముముందర వక మంటపము ఛిద్రమయిపోయినది.

౪౦. ఈమంటపానకు దక్షిణపార్శ్వము వూరికి పూర్వభాగము పుండరీకపుష్కరిణి. ఈపుష్కరిణిమధ్యమందు నాలుగుస్తంభాలమంటపము. దీనికి వుత్తరపువైపువడ్డున చిన్న నాలుగుకాళ్లమంటపము. ఈ ఉత్సవదినాలయందు స్థలశయనస్వామివారికి యీ మంటపముదగ్గిర పందిళ్లువేసి అభిషేకోత్సవముచేస్తారట. ఇందుకు సోపానాలు అడుగుమట్టు అంతువున్న మెట్లు ౧౬. ఇందుకు తుల అడుగులు 300, అడ్డ అడుగులు 300,

౪౧. ఈపుష్కరిణికి వుత్తరపువయిపు యిప్పతోట. ఈపుష్కరిణికి దక్షిణపువయిపు జీడిమామిడిచెట్లు.

౪౨. గ్రామానికి తూర్పుసముద్రతీరమందు సప్తప్రాకారములున్న శివాలయము. ఈస్వామిపేరు స్థలపురాణముతోటి పోయినది. ఈ తర్వాత యెవరికిన్ని తెలియ లేదు. సప్తప్రాకారములకు యిప్పుడు రెండుప్రాకారములుమాత్రము అగుపడుతూవున్నవి. మూడుప్రాకారములకు అడియాళము వున్నది. తతిమ్మాప్రాకారములకు అడియాళము వున్నదిలేనిది అగపడకుండా సముద్రములో మునిగిపోయెను. గర్భగుళ్లు ౩, అందులో వక గర్భగుళ్లో శివలింగము వున్నది. దానివున్నతము రొమ్ముబొడుగువున్నది. పానవట్టము కనుపడ లేదు. ఆ లింగము కింద యెంతవున్నదో తెలియ లేదు. ఈ గర్భగుడి * చ్చేదానికికింద స్వామికి మీదనుంచి ఆరు గఁధపుమానులు వేశి కట్టినారు. అందులో రెండుమానులు యెవరో పాపకర్తలు తీసుక పోయినారు. ఇప్పుడు నాలుగుచెక్కలు వున్నవి. పడమటిగోడను పార్వతిపరమేశ్వర్లు యిద్దరూ బాలసుబ్రహ్మణ్యస్వామిని యిద్దరియందున్ను తూర్చుండబెట్టుకొని వున్నారు. యిరుపార్శ్వాలలో బ్రహ్మ విష్ణువు యిద్దరు వున్నారు. స్వామికి తలమీద దెబ్బ తగిలినది. కొంచెము భిన్నముగా వున్నది. ఇరుపార్శ్వాలా ద్వారపాలకులు రెండు ప్రతిమలున్ను రెండు కోతులు వున్నవి. సింహాలుమొదలయిన ప్రతిమలుమాత్రము అలలుకొట్టి అరిగిపోయినవి. ఇప్పుడు యిరువై ముప్పై సింహాలుమొదలయినవి కనుపడుతూవున్నవి. ప్రాకారములయందువున్ననందులు కిందబడి మాతులు పగిలినవి. కొన్నిటికి కాళ్లుపోయినవి. రెండోప్రాకారములో శ్రీమహావిష్ణువు దక్షిణము తలపెట్టుకొని పడుకొన్నాడు. స్వామిగుడికి యెదటస్తంభమునాటినారు. ఆస్తంభము యిప్పుడు సముద్రములోవున్నది. అక్కడ మోకాలిబంటినీళ్లు.

౪౩. పడమటిపక్కమ చిన్నగోపురము. గర్భగుడివున్నది. అందులో పార్వతీ పరమేశ్వరులు యిద్దరు బాలసుబ్రహ్మణ్యేశ్వరస్వామిని యెత్తుకొన్నారు. యిరుపార్శ్వాలను బ్రహ్మ విష్ణువు యిద్దరూవున్నారు. ద్వారాల ముందర వినాయకులను చెక్కినారు. నాలుగువయిపులా నాలుగుసింహాలు బహు భీకరముగా వున్నవి. తతిమ్మా విగ్రహాలు భిద్రముఅయిపోయి

నవి. ఈగర్భగుడిమీదను గోపురముగావున్నది. ఈరెండుగుళ్లకుపైన కల శాలుపెట్టివున్నవి.

౪౪. ఈదేవస్థానానికి వుత్తరపు వయిపు యేకశిలతో వరుణదేవునిగుడి దొలిపించినారు. అందులో రాజుప్రతిమ చెక్కినారు. ఆశిలలో వుత్తరపు వయిపు మహిషాసురుడు పడుకొనివున్నాడు. ఈశిలకు నముద్రములో అలలుతగులుతూ వున్నవి. చంద్రోదయము అయినప్పుడు తరంగాలు కొట్టితే చుట్టూ నీరు వస్తుంది.

౪౫. శివాలయానికి దిబ్బ పదిబారలు మాత్రము నముద్రుడు వుంచి వుత్తరదక్షిణాలు ఎర బారలు పడమటికి తోసుకవచ్చినాడు.

౪౬. ఈ శివాలయానికి దక్షిణభాగము మూడుశిలలు వున్నవి. అందులో వకశిలమీదను తూర్పువయిపున చిన్నఅరతొలిచి ప్రతిమను వుంచినారు. అరకు వుత్తరవయిపు యేనుగుమూతి దక్షిణము వక గుర్రము వున్నది. వుత్తరవయిపున యేనుగుపాదము కనపడుతూవున్నది. పడమట వక అర తొలిచినారు. అందులో వక స్త్రీ ప్రతిమవ్రాశినారు. ఆ కింద చిన్న ప్రతిమలు మూడు వున్నవి.

౪౭. రెండోశిలను సింహముఖముగా కనపడుతుంది. ఇదివకశిల. ఇందుపు యిదే చిత్రముగాని మరియేమి యెక్కువ లేదు.

౪౮. ఈ మూడోశిలమీదను పెద్దతలానున్ను కడుపు చిన్నఅరానున్ను ఉహు వికృతాకారముగా వున్నవి.

Translation.

1. On the North side of the hill, is an Îsvara temple. In this is Îsvara. Lord Clive took away the Nandî in front of this temple.

2. In front of this are two monkeys, freeing themselves from vermin.

3. On the West side of those figures is a round churn used by Draupadî, the lawful wife of the Pândavas. There are three *Mantapas*,* hollowed slenderly out of the solid rock. The sculptures in the first *Mantapa* are two Doorkeepers, a four-armed Durgâ inside, and four figures of attendants. The other two excavations have the same figures. On the South side of this rock, and facing to the West, is an eight-armed Durgâ, treading with her foot the head of Mahishâsura.

4. Near this, to the South, on the West side of the road, is the fireplace in which Bhîmasenat cooked. There are steps to get up to the top of this.

5. Not far from this, to the South, on the face of the rock, is a large round butter ball made by Draupadî. Half of this is said to have been eaten by a cat, which gives the ball a chipped appearance. The cat is seen, with its fore paws upraised, tied to the hill on which Arjuna is performing penance.

6. On the South side of this is Arjuna's *Ratha*,‡ cut out of a single stone. The stone has been cut

* An open temple building. Also written *Mandapa*.

† The third of the five Pându princes, commonly called Bhîma.

‡ See note * p. 213, *infra*.

into the shape of a *Mantapa*, with two pillars and a *Garbhagriha*,* in which was placed Siva. When that *Linga* was carried off by Bu * * [*sic*], the people of this place took an image of Vinâyaka† which was near and put it in the *Garbhagriha*. On the wall to the South of the *Garbhagriha*, is some inscription written, the character of which is unknown.

7. Near to this, on the South, is hollowed out of the solid rock, a *Mantapa* containing Varâhasvâmî. In this are two pillars and a *Garbhagriha*. In the *Garbhagriha* are no figures. There are two Door-keepers. On the wall to the North of the *Garbhagriha* is Varâhasvâmî; his left foot is placed on the ground; his right foot rests on the head of Âdisesha;‡ on his right thigh is seated, facing him, Lakshmî; his right hand is on her hinder parts, his left hand holds her right leg; he faces to the West, and the goddess to the East. The four-armed Varâhasvâmî's two other hands hold the *Saṅkha* and the *Chakra*.§ The god and goddess are regarding each other, and he with his boar-mouth is, in playful dalliance, kissing her right breast. Behind him, to the East, is a four-armed male figure. Facing this figure, is that of a woman. Above these two is a votary with joined hands, uttering praises. Three votaries are praising Varâhasvâmî. Altogether, there are nine figures at the

* The sanctuary or adytum of a Hindu temple.

† Ganeśa. ‡ The thousand headed serpent.

§ See note † p. 202, *infra*.

North end. On the East wall and facing to the West is Gaja Lakshmî, on her lotus throne. Above her head are the heads of two Elephants. On either side of Lakshmî, stand two women reaching pots full of water to the Elephants' trunks, for bathing the goddess. There is one Doorkeeper. Altogether, there are figures of five women, one man, and two elephants' heads. On the South side [of the *Garbha-griha*] is a four-armed Durgâ, holding an umbrella. To the South side of the goddess are three attendants, carrying swords. There is also a deer. On the North side, are three more armed attendants, and a lion. There is one Doorkeeper. Altogether eight [human] figures, a lion, and a deer.

Facing Varâhasvâmî, on the South wall, is eight-armed Trivikrama* holding the *Saṅkha, Chakra, Gadâ*,† &c. Bali Chakravartî had given him three paces of land, whereupon the god usurping the whole earth by placing on it his right foot, stretched his left foot to the sky for the purpose of seizing the upper world. Brahmâ is bathing this foot with water from his sacred water pot and worshipping it. In front of Vishnu is Jâmbavat.‡

Bali Chakravartî, thinking it wrong to withdraw a gift, is praying to the god, near his [right] foot, wishing to give him ground for his third pace.§

* Vishnu, as the "Three-Stepper."

† Vishnu's conch, discus, and mace. ‡ King of the bears.

§ Bali when reproached by Vishnu for failing to give him all he had promised, besought the god to place his third step on his head.—See Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, Part IV., p. 127 f.

Behind him is Sukrâchârya.* Two of Bali Chakravartî's soldiers are on the East side, and four on the West side [of Trivikrama]. Altogether, there are 11 male figures. This *Mantapa* faces to the West.

8. On the East side of the hill, on a rock at the foot, are 11 steps on which Krishnasvâmî used to play at Mounting the Throne. There is also a slide on which he used to amuse himself.

9. On the East side of the hill, the rock has been fashioned into figures representing Arjuna's Penance, as [in the story of] Kirâta and Arjuna.† Here is Arjuna, his two arms extended over his head performing penance; and here is four-armed Îsvara, as he appeared [to Arjuna,] holding the *Pâsupatâstra*,‡ Damaruka,§ *Trisûla*,¶ &c. Between Îsvara and Arjuna stands Visvakarma,‖ with an adze on his right shoulder, the handle of which he holds in his right hand. Above Îsvara's head are Sûrya, Chandra, &c. Below Arjuna, is Krishnasvâmî in a fane, four-armed and holding the Sankha, *Chakra*, *Gadâ*, &c. To his right, is Dronâchârya,** seated in the lotus-posture,†† with emaciated body, performing

* See note * p. 83, *supra*. † See p. 89 ff., *supra*.

‡ A fabulous weapon. § A sort of small drum.

¶ Siva's trident.

‖ The son of Brahmâ and architect of the gods.—Wilson.

** See note * p. 31, *supra*.

†† "The thighs crossed, one hand resting on the left thigh, the other held up with the thumb upon the heart; the eyes directed to the tip of the nose."—Wilson.

penance. On *Krishna*'s left, the rock is fissured, so Nâga-maids* appear issuing from Pâtâlaloka, and with the five virgins comes a Nâga-maid for Arjuna. On the North side of these appears Indra, accompanied by his wife, mounted on the elephant called Airâvata, coming to visit *Siva*. Behind Airâvata is another elephant. Below Airâvata are three elephant cubs. And there is a cat, with her kittens, facing to the East, with upstretched paws.†

Round the god Indra, in the form of a ring, are figures of *Garudas*,‡ *Gandharvas*,§ *Kinnaras*,¶ *Kimpurushas*,¶ *Siddhas*,‖ *Vidyâdharas*,‖ &c., some with wives, some without wives, coming, as ascetics, to visit *Siva*. There are here 36 figures. Amongst these demi-gods are three deer. Behind them, to the North, in the middle [of the rock] are seven lions and one sheep. To Îsvara's right, and above, are Dharmarâja and Bhîma sitting, performing penance. On their right are a hog and a tiger. On Îsvara's right are 24 figures of troops of *Pramathas*,** and *Rishis*,†† coming to visit *Siva*. Also a lion, a hog, three deers, a tiger, and two monkeys. They are thus represented accompanied by their wives [?]. Altogether there are 80 male and female figures.

* See note ‡ p. 88, *supra*. † Cp. note § p. 88, *supra*.

‡ The bird and vehicle of Vishnu. § Celestial musicians. ¶ Demigods or musicians in the service of Kuvera. ‖ Demigods of undefined attributes, inhabiting the middle air.—Wilson.

** Attendants upon *Siva*.

†† Saints or sanctified sages, of whom there are seven orders.

10. To the right of the above is a *Mantapa* [excavated out] of the solid rock. It is called "The five Pândavas." It has 18 pillars, of which one is broken, leaving 17 pillars. The shafts of four of the 17 pillars are broken; the rest are perfect. The front pillars rest on lions' heads. The total number of lions is eight. In the middle of this *Mantapa* there is a chamber, which contains nothing. On either side of this chamber, the commencement of other chambers, which have not been completed, is visible. There is nothing but a sort of cave on each side of the chamber, with no sculptures; all is plain.

11. To the right of this *Mantapa* you ascend to the *Râyala Gopura*,* the foundation only of which has been built, and four pillars set up on the four sides. Round this the rock has been shaped into a seat but the *Gopura* has not been constructed.

12. On the East side of this is the Sthalasekharasvâmî temple.

13. On the East side of the hill is a *Mantapa* containing *Krishna* lifting the mountain Govarddhana.† In this are 12 pillars. The *Mantapa* joins the hill and faces to the East. The figures in this *Mantapa* are as follows: *Krishna* holds up the

* I. e. the *Gopura* of the *Râyalu*, the title of the princes of Vijayanagara. A *Gopura* is the pyramidical tower over the gate-way of a Hindu temple.

† See p. 92 f., *supra*.

mountain Govarddhana with his left hand like an umbrella; with his right hand he is giving the sign *Abhaya** to the Gopikâs. On the left of the god, are three female figures. Of these, two are in a standing posture. One has a pot of curds on her head, and a little boy before her. Behind her is a cowherd with a child on his head and an infant in his arms. Above these four are the heads of six cows. Behind them lies *Vrishabhesvara*.† Beneath him are four lions. On *Krishna*'s right, is Balarâma.‡ His left hand is on a cowherd, and he is standing with one foot advanced. On the left of the cowherd is a woman. Above them are the heads of five cows. To the right of Balarâma is a cowherd milking a cow. In front of this cow is her calf. Above this, is a cowherd playing on a fife to collect the cows. Near him is a woman with a child. In front of the cow is a woman carrying a mortar and holding in her hand a net containing pots of curds. On her right stands *Vrishabhesvara*. Behind the bull stand a cowherd and cowherdess. Behind [? on the right of] the bull is a cowherd, holding with his left hand the right hand of a woman. Above the bull are the heads of 16 cows; in the front there is a calf. On the South wall there

* Holding up the right hand, with the palm to the front, as an assurance of safety. This however is not the attitude of the god, whose right hand points to the ground, a sign, probably, to the people that they should take refuge at his feet. See plate II., *supra*.

† Nandi, the sacred bull of Śiva. ‡ The half brother of *Krishna*.

are 6 lions' heads. Altogether, in this *Mantapa*, there are 10 lions (on the North and South walls,) 16 figures of men and women, 5 children, 2 bulls, 1 cow, 2 calves, and 27 cows' heads.

14. To the South of this *Mantapa* is the Râmânuja *Mantapa*. This is excavated out of the hill. In the middle are two pillars. East and West [it measures] 20 feet, North and South 26 feet. There are no figures in it. [At the bases] of the pillars in this solid rock *Mantapa* are 4 lions' heads. Inside, the North and South walls are formed like small *Gopuras*, with niches. In those niches there are figures. In the front of this *Mantapa* are 6 stone pillars. On the South side of it are 13 steps cut out of the rocky hill. Above this *Mantapa* is the *Mantapa* of Velugôti Singama Nâyadu. This has 4 pillars. It is not built with stones brought by workmen, nor is it built artistically. It is now all in ruins.

15. On the South side of this, two pillars have been made and the rock a little hollowed out, with the intention of forming a large boulder into a monolithic *Mantapa*. The work is unfinished and serves only as a mark for the boulder.

16. To the South of this *Mantapa* is another, cut out of the solid rock, called Dharmarâja's *Mantapa*. It has 4 pillars and 3 *Garbhagrihas*. There are no figures in it. The centre *Garbhagriha* has 2 half finished figures of door-keepers. This *Mantapa* is in as good preservation as if just made.

17. To the East of this *Mantapa*, at the foot of the East side of the hill, are two large boulders on which is figured the Penance of Arjuna. There is Îsvara, in his four-armed form, holding in his left hand the *Pâsupata*.* Arjuna, with upraised arms *(ûrdhvabâhu)* is performing penance. On the North side of these are figures of *Garudas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Vidyâdharas, Siddhas, Châranas*,† *Rishis*, &c., and of women; also of elephants and lions. This is partly finished, partly unfinished.

18. On the South end of the hill, on an elevation, is a solid rock *Mantapa*. The name given to this in the village is Yamapurî‡ *Mantapa*. This has 6 pillars of which one is broken, and the remaining five are in good order. Of the 3 *Garbhagrihas*, the centre one is called Kailâsa. In this, in his four-armed form, with his left foot on a bull, is Parameśvara.§ On his left is Pârvatî, with Kumârasvâmî¶ on her thigh. Between Pârvatî and Parameśvara is Vishnu in his four-armed form holding the *Sankha*, *Chakra*, and *Gadâ*. On the right side of Parameśvara is Brahmâ with four faces. Below Pârvatî is a female attendant. Pârvatî and Parameśvara are sitting on a couch, the legs of which are lions' heads. Below this couch is a bull, bearing Śiva's left foot. There are 2 Doorkeepers. In the *Garbhagrihas* on

* See p. 89, *supra*.

† Bards, panegyrists of the gods.

‡ "City of Yama," the god of death. The confusion between Yama and Mahishâsura is probably the origin of this name.

§ Śiva.

¶ The son of Śiva and Pârvatî.—Cp. note ‡ p. 107, *supra*.

either side of the centre and there are no figures. On the South wall of the *Mantapa* is Ranganâyaka,* reclining, with his head towards the East, on his Sesha bed.† At the West end [of this figure], near the feet, are 2 soldiers. Of these two, one is the soldier of Ranganâyaka, and one of Mahishâsura. These two soldiers appear fighting, arm to arm, fist to fist, tooth to tooth, nail to nail, hair to hair. Above Vishnu are 2 *Gandharvas*. Below are 3 attendants. On the North wall is the goddess Mahishamardinî‡ with eight arms, surrounded by 8 soldiers armed with swords, representing troops of Pramathas, and 1 female figure—altogether 9 figures—mounted on a lion, facing the East, holding a bow in her left hand, an arrow strung with her right hand and stretched back to her ear against Mahishâsura, who is confronting her for the battle. In her other hands she holds a *Khadga*,§ *Gadâ*, *Ghantâ*,¶ *Sankha*, *Parasu*,‖ *Tomara*,** and other weapons, also a *Chhatra*,†† and *Châmara*,‡‡ and surrounded by attendants, she, inflamed with anger, has strung an arrow to slay Mahishâsura. In front of the *Sakti*§§ and facing the goddess, is the buffalo-headed Mahishâsura, holding a club in his two hands and furiously intent on doing battle with the goddess.¶¶

* Vishnu, as the 'Lord of Ranga' (*Srîrangam*, near Trichinopoly.)

† See note * p. 33, *supra*.

‡ Pârvatî, as "Slayer of Mahisha."

§ A sword. ¶ A gong. ‖ An axe. ** An iron club. †† An umbrella. ‡‡ See note * p. 100, *supra*. §§ The energy or active power of a deity, personified as his wife.—Wilson. ¶¶ See p. 99 ff., *supra*.

Soldiers, equipped for war, appear also as engaged in the battle, and holding over Mahishâsura the *Chhatra* and *Châmara*. There are 7 figures. In front of this *Mantapa*, to the East, the commencement of forming a boulder into a *Vimâna** has been made, but the work is unfinished. On the North side of this temple is the stone bed and pillow of Mahishâsura.

19. Above this *Mantapa*, is the temple of Olakkannesvarasvâmî. When this city flourished, a small fanam used to be collected from each shop, making a quarter measureful *(kâlupadi)* of fanams, for the god in this temple. In the Tamil language they call a quarter measure *olakku*.† In Telugu it is called *tavvedu*. The god has rolled away somewhere. They say that if all the jungle is cut down, that *Linga* will be found.

20. At the South-west corner of the hill is the Varâhasvâmî temple. In this are 4 pillars and 1 *Garbhagriha*. It is called "The Cave." This is excavated out of the hill itself. Exactly in front of it, the votaries and others have erected a *Mantapa* having 6 pillars. There is a wall round this. In the middle of the walled enclosure are a well and cocoanut trees. This temple faces to the West. In the *Garbhagriha* is Varâhasvâmî. This Varâhasvâmî has his left foot on the ground; his right foot is placed on

* A pyramidical temple in the form of a god's chariot.

† *Prop.* Urakku (உரக்கு.)

the head of Âdisesha, who is near him with his wife; on his right thigh, and facing him, is the goddess Lakshmî; his left hand holds her right foot, and his right hand is on her hinder parts; he faces to the West, the goddess to the East. The other two hands of the four-armed Varâhasvâmî hold the *Sankha, Chakra,* &c. The two are looking into each other's face, and Varâhasvâmî in playful dalliance is, with his boar-mouth, kissing the right breast of the goddess.

This very god appeared to King Harisekhara, and when asked by him the reason of his facing to the West, the god replied that Varadarâjasvâmî* would thereafter appear as an incarnation in the Punyakotivimâna at Kanchi† and that therefore he faced in that direction. This is celebrated in the Purâna.‡ The worship of this god continues to this day. The god has been painted in colours, as in pictures. On the South side of the *Garbhagriha* is a *Sakti* with four arms. To the South of the *Sakti* is Harisekhara and his two wives. On his left is a four-armed male figure. On the North side of the *Garbhagriha* is Gaja Lakshmî. On the wall at the North end is a figure of Srî Râma. Âñjaneya§ is praising Srî Râma. There are also some other figures there, the names of which are unknown. On the North side of this temple,

* Vishnu, as "The boon-conferring god."

† *Prop.* Kâñchî (Conjeveram). ‡ See p. 178 f., *supra.*

§ Hanumân, the monkey chief; so called from his mother Añjanâ.

within the enclosure, is an inscription. This god is celebrated in the Purâṇa.

21. To the North of this temple, on the middle of the hill is a *Mantapa*. It is in the jungle, on the West side of the Olakkannesvarasvâmî temple. It is cut out of the solid rock. In it are no particular figures. Four niches have been commenced, but are unfinished. There are 4 pillars. Besides this, there are 24 steps on the hill, on the North side.

22. In the middle of the hill is Draupadî's turmeric vat.* Near this, is the place where the palace was recently built. There are signs of this, viz., bricks, &c.

23. To the North of this vat is the lion-pillowed couch called Dharmarâja's throne *(simhâsana)*. To the North of this are 5 pits used by the Pâṇḍavas for burnt offerings.

24. On the East side of this throne is a channel which carried away the water used by the Pâṇḍavas for washing rice. On the edge of that channel is [a stone] in the form of a bag, just like a treasure pack. To hold the water there is a reservoir. On the East side of the reservoir there are steps to descend into it. When the foundation of what is called the *Râyala Gopura*, was laid in a line with the Palace, holes were made in the large rocks on the hill near the *Gopura*, with the intention of splitting the stone.

* I. e. bath. Turmeric (Curcuma longa) is smeared over the body by Hindu females after bathing.

That work is unfinished. The rocks are called the "Monkeys' Rocks." There is a story connected with the two solid rock *Mantapas* adjoining each other, on the West side of the hill. Of these, the *Mantapa* on the South side has 12 pillars, and 5 *Garbhagrihas*. There are no gods or figures inside these *Garbhagrihas*. To each *Garbhagriha* there are two Doorkeepers, making 10 Doorkeepers in all. On the North wall there is a *Sankha*. In these [*Garbhagrihas*] there are holes from which *Lingas* have been taken out. In front of this temple the water collects and forms a pond. In this are reeds. The *Mantapa* on the North side has 4 pillars—no *Garbhagrihas*. Figures *nil*. The work is unfinished. To the North of this *Mantapa* is a solid rock *Mantapa*, having 2 pillars. There is nothing else particular about it. There are 2 Doorkeepers and one chamber.

[The above 3 *Mantapas* may be enumerated as:—]

25. A twelve pillared *Mantapa*.

26. A four pillared *Mantapa*.

27. A two pillared *Mantapa*.

28. On the West side of the hill is a salt-marsh.

29. Between this salt-marsh and the hill are three *Rathas*.* In two only of these is the rock hollowed out and formed into chambers. In the third the commencement of a chamber has been

* Chariots, or chariot-shaped temples, otherwise called *Vimânas*.

made on the North side, but it is unfinished. Near this are a *Linga* and *Yoni** and a temple with a four-armed village goddess. Stones are being cut from the hill near this and sent to Tiruvalikkêni† to build a [temple] kitchen.

30. At a half *gadiya*'s‡ distance from the hill to the South is a *Sakti* with four arms. In her right hand she holds a *Chakra*. In attendance on the goddess, on both sides of her, are 6 soldiers armed with swords. The *Sakti* faces to the West. In front is a large lion facing to the North. The *Vimâna*§ of this *Sakti* is monolithic. There are 2 female Doorkeepers. There are figures of four-armed females—1 on the South, 1 on the East, and

* The *Linga* is the phallic emblem of Siva, symbolic of the attributes ascribed to him by his worshippers, as the supreme lord, the beginning of all existences, the cause of causes. The Telugu word (*Pânavattamu*) above translated "*Yoni*," properly signifies the pedestal *Lingavedi* (or *Argha*—Coleman), on which the *Linga* stands. The raised edge of this represents the *Yoni* (vulva), an emblem of Pârvati as the female energy of the deity. For a discussion of the question as to whether the phallic emblem was derived from the religion of the aboriginal or non-Arian Indians, see Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, part IV., p. 344 ff. For Mythological accounts of the origin of Linga-worship, see the same work, p. 325 ff. Also Vans Kennedy's Researches, p. 298 ff.—Twelve great Lingas were set up in different parts of India, several of which were destroyed by the early Mahomedan conquerors. See H. H. Wilson's *Essays*, Vol. I., p. 221 ff. where the names and localities are given.—A miniature Linga is worn on his person by every Lingâyat, generally round the neck in a silver casket.

† Triplicane, the Mussulman quarter of the town of Madras.

‡ The Indian hour of 24 English minutes, (Sans. *Ghatiká*,) into sixty of which the Hindus divide the day. An "hour's [walking] distance" is considered to be 1½ mile.

§ The five *Rathas* are here called *Vimânas*—See note * p. 213, *supra*.

1 on the North side. The name of the *Sakti* in this temple is unknown. Altogether there are 12 female figures.

31. Behind this *Vimâna* is the figure of a large sacred bull facing to the West. It is buried in the ground. Some of the sand has been removed for the purpose of seeing this figure, so half of it is visible.

32. To the South of this *Vimâna* is Nakula's* *Vimâna* formed of a single stone. At the bottom of this is something of a *Mantapa*. There are no figures in it. On the North side of this *Vimâna* are 6 figures, on the East side 5 figures, and on the South side 7.

33. On the West side of this *Vimâna* is Sahadeva's *Vimâna* formed out of a single stone. The *Mantapa* has 2 slender pillars and faces to the South. There are no figures in it. This *Vimâna* is carved all round. Near it, on the East side, is a monolithic elephant facing to the South.

34. To the East of this *Vimâna* is Bhîma's *Vimâna*. It is of one stone, like a *Mantapa*, and faces to the West. It has 6 pillars on the West side, 2 on the South, and 4 on the East—with 12 pillars in all. This *Vimâna* is a very large one. It has been struck by a thunder bolt and split in the middle.

35. To the South of this *Vimâna* is Dharma-

* Cp. note † p. 103, *supra*.

râja's *Vimâna*. It has 4 pillars on the West side. Round this *Vimâna* are 8 figures. On this *Vimâna* are 2 parapets for the performance of *Pradakshina*.* On the parapet walls are 21 carved figures. There are 2 chambers on the parapets, with 2 pillars. Of the above mentioned 8 figures, there are letters engraven over the heads of 5 facing to the South, East, and North. These are not understood.

36. In the village is the Sthalasayanasvâmî temple with the entrance to the East, a *Gopura*, and 5 doorways. At the South end, within the enclosure, in the *Garbhagriha* reclines Sthalasayanasvâmî with his head to the South—near his feet are Pu*nd*arîka Mahâmuni and a lotus. This *Mahâmuni* here obtained final emancipation (*mukti*). On the South side of this is Yalamaṅganâñchâru's† temple. On the North side is the goddess Cû*d*iko*d*uta's‡ temple; around are 8 Âr*v*âr*s*' temples, 1 sacred kitchen, 1 flagstaff and 1 store room containing utensils.

In the doorway of the *Gopura*, on either side, are paintings of groups of figures and monkeys.

* "Reverential salutation by circumambulating a person or object, keeping the right side towards them."—Wilson.

† *Prop.* Nilamaṅgainâchiyâr, the goddess Earth, Bhûdevî.

‡ So called because she, when a girl, took the flowers kept for offerings to the deity, and wore them in her hair. She is said to have sprung from the earth, and to have been found by Periâ Âr*v*âr in his *Tulasî* (Ocymum sacrum) garden. The Âr*v*âr called her Kôdai, brought her up as his own daughter, and offered her, at her own desire, in marriage to Vishnu, at Śrîrangam.—See *Guruparamparâprabhâvam*, p. 17 ff.

On this side of the doorway at the North end is a *Mantapa* of 36 pillars. The god comes into this on festival days. This temple is enclosed by a wall and round it are 122 pillars.

37. Straight in a line with the *Gopura* doorway, to the East, is the *Râyala Gopura*, all in ruins. The foundation is 44 feet square and on this side there is a sort of chamber. In that there is nothing very extraordinary. To the East of this is the *Mantapa* in which *Krishnasvâmî* is swung the day after his birth-day. This has 4 pillars and a *Gopura* (?) on the top.*

38. To the East of this is Sthalasayana's flower garden. In that is a temple of *Srî* Hanumân. The god was inside, in the *Garbhagriha*. He was taken away by Andilin (?).

39. To the East of this Hanumân temple is the *Mantapa* into which Pûdattâlvârt descended. It is in ruins. Now only 16 pillars remain. In front of this is a ruined *Mantapa*.

40. On the South side of this *Mantapa*, to the East of the village, is the *Pundarîkapuskarinî*. In the middle of this tank is a four pillared *Mantapa*. On the North bank of it is a small *Mantapa* with 4 pillars. On festival days, they say, sheds are erected near this *Mantapa* for Sthalasayanasvâmî, and the anointing-feast *(abhishekotsava)* is celebrated. This tank has 16 steps to the bottom of it. It is 300 feet square.

41. On the North side of the Pushkarinî is a date garden. On the South side are cashew nut trees.‡

* See note * p. 34, *supra*, and plate XI., No. 1.

† The third of the 12 Ârvâr or apostles of Vishnu.—See Ziegenbalg's *South-Indian gods*, p. 71 f. Also note * p. 133, *supra*.

‡ Anacardium occidentale.

42. On the Sea shore to the East of the village is the seven-walled *Siva* temple. The [local] name of the god went with the Sthalapurâna, and has since become known to none. Of the seven walls *(prâkâra)* only two now appear. There are signs of three [more] walls; whether traces remain of the other walls cannot be ascertained as [their supposed site] is buried in the sea. There are two *Garbhagrihas*, in one of which is the *Linga* of *Siva*. Its height is that of a man's chest. The *Yoni* is not visible. How deep the *Linga* is below is not known. This *Garbhagriha* had been built with six sandal wood beams above the god. Of these, some sinners have taken away two. Four beams now remain. On the western wall are Pârvatî and Paramesvara with the young Subrahmanyasvâmî seated between them. On the two sides are Brahmâ and Vishnu. The god has had a blow on his head, and is somewhat cracked. On the two sides are figures of two Doorkeepers and two monkeys. The figures of lions, &c., only have become effaced by the action of the waves. The figures of twenty or thirty lions, &c., are now visible. The Nandîs which were on the walls have fallen down and had their faces broken—some have lost their legs. Within the second wall lies Srî Mahâ Vishnu with his head to the South. In front of the temple is placed a pillar. That pillar is now in the Sea. The water there is knee deep.

43. On the West side is a small *Gopura*. There is a *Garbhagriha*. In that are Pârvatî and Paramesvara carrying the young Subrahmanyasvâmî. On the two sides are Brahmâ and Vishnu. In front of the doorways Vinâyakas have been carved. On the four sides are four lions, very terrible. The

rest of the idols are defaced. There is [as before stated] a *Gopura* over this *Garbhagriha*. *Kalasas** have been placed on both these temples.

44. On the North side of this temple, a temple of the god Varuna† has been cut out of a single stone. In that is sculptured a figure of a King. On the North side of that rock lies Mahishâsura. The waves of the sea reach this rock. At moon-rise‡ when the waves beat, it is surrounded by water.

45. The sea has kept himself only 10 fathoms away from the mound on which is the *Siva* temple. On the North and South sides of it, he has receded 24 fathoms to the West.

46. To the South of this *Siva* temple are three rocks. On the East side of one of these rocks a small chamber has been hollowed out and a figure placed in it. On the North side of the chamber is an elephant's head; and on the South, a horse. On the North side [of the rock] appears an elephant's foot. On the West side, a chamber has been hollowed out. In that is sculptured a female figure. Below that are three small figures.

47. On the second rock appears a lion's face. This is one stone. On it there is only this carving, nothing more.

48. On the third rock are a large head, a belly, and a small chamber, of very misshapen form.

* See note * p. 172, *supra*.

† The deity of the waters and regent of the West.—Wilson.

‡ The popular notion is that the Sea boils with delight at the sight of his offspring Chandra, who was produced at the Churning of the Ocean. The phenomenon of the moon's influence on the tides doubtless underlies this fiction.

Sanscrit sloka—pp. 13, 166.

The statement that this couplet is a quotation from the Mahâbhârata appears to be inaccurate. It would seem to have been borrowed from Conjeveram (Kâñchîpura) whose Mâhâtmya contains the following lines* :—(Seshadharma xlix, 10, 11.)

गंगाया दक्षिणे भागे योजनानां शतद्वये ।
पंचयोजनमात्रेण पूर्वांभोधेस्तु पश्चिमे ॥
वेगवत्युत्तरे तीरे पुण्यकोट्यां हरिः स्वयं ।
वरदस्सर्वभूतानामद्यापि परिदृश्यते ॥

South of the Ganges two hundred *yojanas*, five *yojanas* westward from the Eastern sea; on the north bank of the Vegavatî,† in the Punyakoti[*-vimâna*], Hari himself, the giver of boons to all living beings, is even at this day present.

* Alluded to in Heyne's *Tracts on India*, p. 334 n.

† The stream here called Vegavatî is not to be confounded with the river in Madura which formerly bore that name and is now called the Vaigai. The Nîpavana Mâhâtmya tells us of a great *Linga* situated on the North bank of this river, and half a *yojana* west of the "famous city" (? Kalyânapura.—Cp. Nelson's *The Madura Country*, part iii, pp. 6 f., 44.)

तपश्चचार परमं शतसंवत्सरावधि ।
वेगवत्युत्तरे तीरे महालिंगस्य चोत्तरे ॥
पश्चिमे श्रीपुरस्यापि योजनार्धे तपस्थलं ।
तत्र लिंगं प्रतिष्ठाप्य ब्रह्मेश्वरसमाह्वयं ॥
अर्चयन्नाममाहस्रैस्त्रिकालं कमलैश्शुभैः ।
जपन् श्रीरुद्रमंत्रैश्च शतरुद्रीयमेव च ॥

The Inscriptions—p. 53 ff.

Mr. Arthur Burnell of the Madras Civil Service has been good enough to place at the Editor's disposal copies of the inscriptions on the Ganesa temple and Ratha at Mâvalivaram, and the buried Siva temple at Sâluvan Kuppam, made (so far as the inscriptions were legible,) by that gentleman in 1867. They are here given in the modern Devanâgarî character :—

Inscription on the Ganesa temple—p. 57 and plate XIV.

सम्भवस्थितिसंहारकारणं वीतकारणः भूयादत्यन्तकामाय जगतां काममर्द्दनः ॥।

अमायश्चित्रमायोसावगुणो गुणभाजनः आ— [जीयात्]

यस्याङ्गुष्ठभराक्रान्तः कैलासः सदशाननः पातालमगमद् * श्रीनिधिस्ता —

भक्तिप्रकर्षेण मनसा भवभूषणलीलया दोष्णा च यो भ * भारज्जीयात् स श्रीभरश्चिरं ॥।

अत्यन्तकामो नृपतिर्निर्ज्जितारातिमण्डलः ख्यातो रणजयः शम्भोस्तेनेदं वेश्म कारितं ॥।

* * निष्कलः सोमः * . * * विजयता शङ्कर काम * नः ॥।

राजराजो * रसश्चक्रवर्त्तिजनार्द्दनः तारकाधिपतिः स्वस्थो जयतात्तरणाङ्कुरः ॥।

श्रीमतोत्यन्तकामस्य द्विषद्दर्पापहारिणः श्रीनिधेः कामराजस्य हराराधन सङ्गिनः ॥।

अभिषेकजलापूर्णे चिरकाम्बुजाकरे आस्ते विशाले सुमुखः शिरस्सरसि शङ्करः ॥।

तेनेदङ्कारितं शम्भो मन्दिरं शुभम् प्रजानामिष्टसिद्ध्यर्थं —

* षष्टि शिवम् * येषान्नवसति हृदये कुपथगति विमो†

चको रुद्रः ॥। अत्यन्तकामपल्लवेश्वर श्री —

† This line and the next down to ॥। occur on the floor of the Rāmānuja Mandapa—pp. 95, 207. The words after ॥। occur also on the East face of the 3rd storey of the Southernmost (Dharmarāja's) Ratha, but the ending is हा रणजयः

Inscription on the buried Śiva temple—plate XV.

श्रीमतोत्यन्तकामस्य द्विषद्

र्पापहारिणः श्रीनिधेः काम

राजस्य हराराधन सङ्गिनः ॥।

अभिषेकजलापूर्णे चिचरत्नाम्बुजाकरे

आस्ते विशाले सुमुखः शिरस्सरसि शङ्करः ॥।

तेनेदङ्कारितं शम्भोर्भवनं भूतये भुवः कै

लासमन्दिरनिभं भूभृताम् मूर्ध्नि तिष्ठता ॥। भक्तिप्रह्वे

ण मनसा भवं भूषणलीलया दीप्ता च यो भुवन धत्ते

जीयात्स श्री भरश्चिरं ॥। अतिरणचण्ड: पतिरवनिभु
जां अतिरणचण्डेश्वरमकरोत् । हिमगिरितन
या गुहगणसहिती नियतकृतरतिर्भवतु पशु
पति: ॥। गुर्व्वीमीशानभक्तिम् श्रीयमतिशायनीं दुरिवहम भारमुर्व्या
निस्समाव्याजदानं परमं अतिरणचण्डाज्ञया :
स्थाने निर्म्मापितेस्मिन्विदिता * यज्ञा ईताने भर्त्ता भूताना
नामष्टा मूर्तिश्चिरमतिरणचण्डेश्वरे यातु निष्टां * गिल: ॥
* * * * *
* * कलकालस्य ॥ समरधनञ्जय: संभ्रमधोर: ॥

Note.

It will be observed that in the Ganesa temple inscription Mr. Burnell reads Rajajaya instead of Jayarana. This agrees with Dr. Babington's own transcript (plate XIV.) though in the translation the name has been changed to Jayarana.

The following is a revised translation of Slokas 1, 2, and 5 of the Ganesa temple inscription :—

1. May Kâmamardana,* the cause of existence, continuance, and destruction, [himself] uncaused, be [propitious] to the boundless desires of the world.

2. May he, [himself] without illusion, [yet] of multiform illusion—without attribute, [and yet] the divider of attributes * * * be triumphant.

5. The king of fully satisfied desires and crowds of conquered enemies, known as Ranajaya—by him was this house of Sambhut built.

Inscriptions on Dharmarâja's Ratha—p. 37 ff. and plate XVII.

Northern face—base.

श्रीनरसिंह: (*left hand.*)

Eastern face—base.

? भुवनभाजन: (*right hand.*)

प्रिथिविभार: [? पृथिवीभार:] श्रीभर: (*left hand.*)

Southern face—base.

अत्यन्तकाम: अनेकोभाय: (*right hand.*)

? अमेय: त्रैलोक्यवर्द्धन: विधि: (*left hand.*)

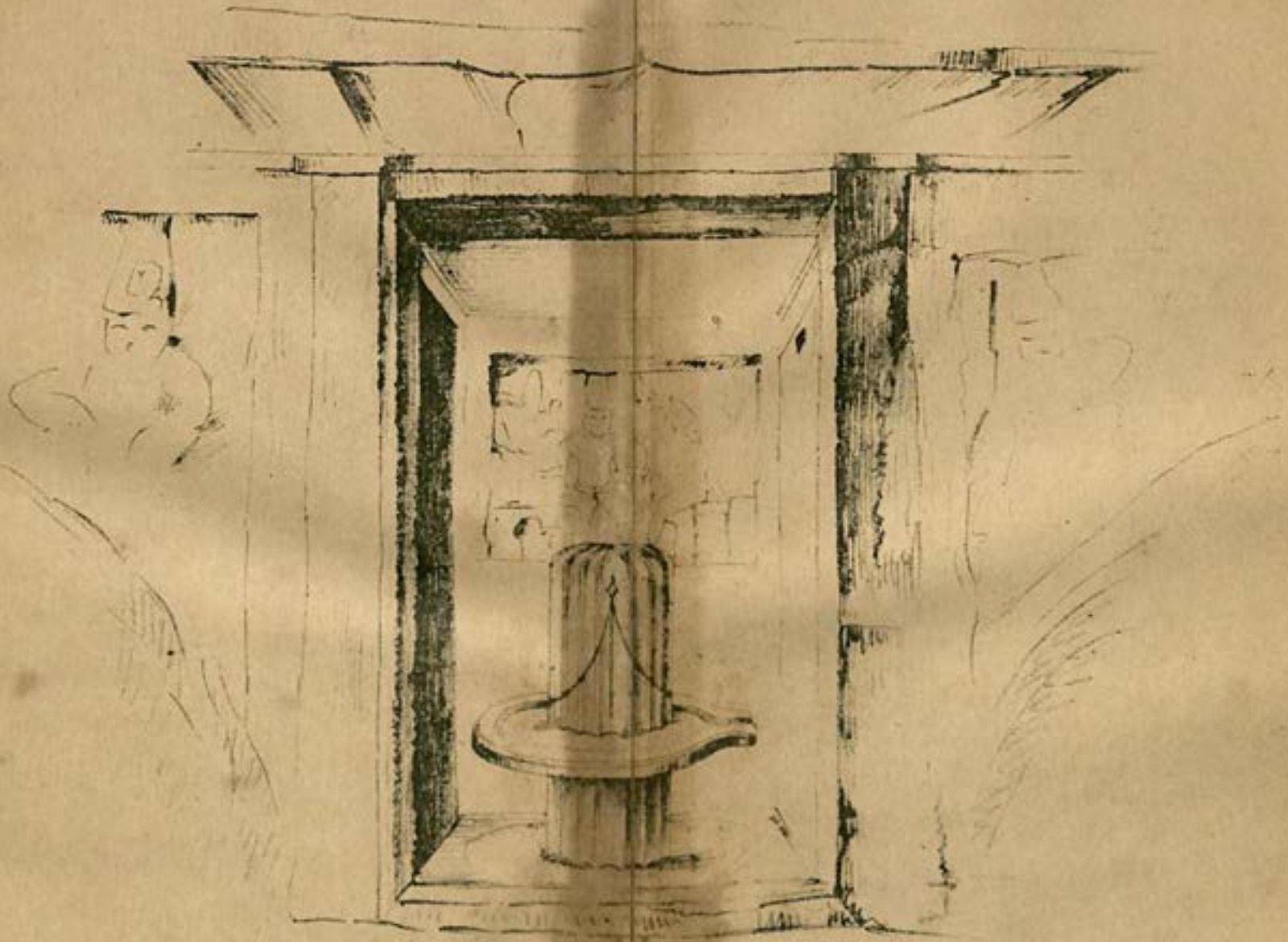
Northern face—second storey.

स्थिरभक्ति: मदनाभिराम: (*left hand.*)

विधि: (1)

* Siva, as "Slayer of Kâma," the god of love.—See Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindus*, p. 75 and Vans Kennedy's *Researches*, p. 297 ff.

† A name of Siva.



LINGA AND CELL IN THE SIVA TEMPLE AT SÂLUVAN KUPPAM

श्रीनरसिंहः भुवनभाजनः श्रीजयः

अप्रतिहतप्रशासनः (2)

कामलक्षितः अमेयमायः

सकलकल्याणः (3)

नयनमनोहरवामः (*right hand.*)

अतिमानः (4)

Eastern face—second storey.

अनुपमः (*right hand.*) वामः (*left hand.*)

भयोत्तरः (*right hand.*) परावरः (*left hand.*)

Western face—second storey.

सत्यपराक्रमः (*right hand.*)

परावरः (1)

Southern face—second storey.

लक्षित (1—*unfinished—left hand.*)

नयनमनोहरः

सर्व्वतोभद्रः (2)

श्रीनिधिः

निरुत्तरः (3)

विधिः (*right hand.*)

विभ्रान्तः (1)

Eastern face—third storey.

* अत्यन्तकामपल्लवेश्वर श्री हा (*middle.*)

रणजयः (1)

Annexed (plate XXIV.) is a sketch taken by Mr. Burnell of the buried Siva temple (Atiranachanda Mandapa) at Sàluvan Kuppam, after it had been excavated for the purpose.

Arjuna's penance—p. 90 and plate I.

The following description is contained in slokas 1537—1542 of the Vanaparva of the Mahâbhârata (Calcutta edition, Vol. I., p. 463) :—

रमणीये वनोद्देशे रममाणोऽर्জ্জुनस्तदा ।
तपस्युग्रे वर्त्तमान उग्रतेजा महामनाः ॥
दर्भचीरं निवस्याथ दण्डाजिनविभूषितः ।
शीर्णञ्च पतितं भूमौ पर्णं समुपयुक्तवान् ॥
पूर्णे पूर्णे त्रिरात्रे तु मासमेकं फलाशनः ।
द्विगुणेन हि कालेन द्वितीयं मासमत्ययात् ॥
तृतीयमपि मासं स षष्ठेणाहारमाचरन् ।
चतुर्थेत्वथ संप्राप्ते मासे भरतसत्तमः ॥
वायुभक्षो महाबाहुरभवत्पाण्डुनन्दनः ।
ऊर्द्ध्वबाहुर्निरालम्बः पादाङ्गुष्ठाग्रधिष्ठितः ॥
सदोपस्पर्शनाच्चास्य बभूवुरमितौजसः ।
विद्युद्भीरुहनिभा जटास्तस्य महात्मनः ॥

Then Arjuna delighting himself in the pleasant forest, awful in his brightness, magnanimous, clothed in a *darbha** garment, adorned with a staff and deer-skin, performed severe penance and fed on the withered leaves which fell on the ground. He spent one month feeding on fruit once in three days; a second month eating at intervals of double the length; a third month also eating food once a

* Poa cynosuroides, a species of grass used in many solemn and religious observances (Wilson)—also called *Kusa*.

fortnight; when the fourth month arrived, the most excellent of the Bhâratas* feeding on air, having long arms, the son of Pându,† with upraised arms, unsupported, stood on the point of his great toe. By constant ablutions, the matted locks of this man, of boundless brilliancy, lofty minded, were like lightning and the lotus.

Death of Mahishâsura—p. 101 *and plate* IV.

Extract from the Mârkandeyapurâna—(Ed. Banerjea, p. 441 f.)—Devîmâhâtmya.

इति क्रोधसमाध्मातमापतन्तं महासुरं ।
दृष्ट्वा सा चण्डिका कोपं तद्वधाय तदाकरोत् ॥
सा क्षिप्त्वा तस्य वै पाशं तं बबन्ध महासुरं ।
तत्याज माहिषं रूपं सोऽपि बद्धो महाम्रधे ॥
ततः सिंहोऽभवत्सद्यो यावत्तस्याम्बिका शिरः ।
छिनत्ति तावत्पुरुषः खड्गपाणिरदृश्यत ॥
तत एवाशु पुरुषं देवी चिच्छेद सायकैः ।
तं खड्गचर्म्मणा सार्द्धं ततः सोऽभून्महागजः ॥
करेण च महासिंहं तञ्चकर्ष जगर्ज्ज च ।
कर्षतस्तु करन्देवी खड्गेन निरकृन्तत ॥

* Descendants of Bharata, from the extent of whose authority over the greater part of India, the country was called Bharatavarsha. —Wilson.

† So styled by courtesy only, Arjuna being in truth the progeny of Indra, the god of the firmament.—See Wilson's preface to Johnson's *Selections from the Mahâbharata*, and his note at p. 7, *ibid.*

ततो महासुरो भूयो माहिषं वपुरास्थितः ।
तथैव चोभयामास त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरं ॥
ततः क्रुद्धा जगन्माता चण्डिका पानमुत्तमं ।
पपौ पुनः पुनश्चैव जहासारुणलोचना ॥
ननर्द चासुरः सोऽपि बलवीर्य्यमदोद्धतः ।
विषाणाभ्याञ्च चिक्षेप चण्डिकां प्रति भूधरान् ॥
सा च तान् प्रहितांस्तेन चूर्णयन्ती शरोत्करैः ।
उवाच तं मदोद्धूतमुखरागाकुलाक्षरं ॥

देव्युवाच ॥

गर्ज्ज गर्ज्ज क्षणं मूढ मधु यावत् पिबाम्यहं ।
मया त्वयि हतेऽत्रैव गर्ज्जिष्यन्त्याशु देवताः ॥
एवमुक्त्वा समुत्पत्य सारूढा तं महासुरं ।
पादेनाक्रम्य कण्ठे च शूलेनैनमताडयत् ॥
ततः सोऽपि पदाक्रान्तस्तया निजमुखात्ततः ।
अर्द्धनिष्क्रान्त एवासि देव्या वीर्य्येण संवृतः ॥
अर्द्धनिष्क्रान्त एवासौ युध्यमानो महासुरः ।
तया महासिना देव्या शिरश्छित्त्वा निपातितः ॥
ततो हाहाकृतं सर्व्वं दैत्यसैन्यं ननाश तत् ।
प्रहर्षञ्च परं जग्मुः सकला देवतागणाः ॥
तुष्टुवुस्तां सुरा देवीं सह दिव्यैर्म्महर्षिभिः ।
जगुर्गन्धर्व्वपतयो ननृतुश्चाप्सरोगणाः ॥

Then Chandikâ seeing the great Asura thus coming, filled with anger, to fall upon her, became wrathful for his destruction. Throwing over him the noose, she bound that great Asura. Bound in the great battle, he relinquished the form of a buffalo

and immediately became a lion. No sooner did Ambikâ cut off his head, than he appeared as a man, sword in hand. Then Devî quickly with arrows destroyed the man together with his sword and shield. He then became a great elephant. With his trunk he dragged the great lion and roared. Devî with her sword cut off the trunk of that dragging one. Then the great Asura again assumed the form of a buffalo, and as before agitated all things animate and inanimate in the three worlds. Then Chandikâ, the mother of the world, having become wroth, drank good wine again and again, laughed with her red eyes, and roared. That Asura also, filled with strength, valour, and pride, hurled mountains at Chandikâ. She crumbling his missiles with a cloud of arrows, her countenance inflamed with wine, spoke to him in confused accents thus: "Roar, roar, O fool, for a moment while I drink wine. The gods will soon roar when thou art slain here by me." Having thus spoken, she sprang upon the buffalo. Placing her foot on his neck, she struck him with her trident. Then trodden under foot by her he came half out of his own mouth,* and was overcome by the great valour of Devî. The great Asura doing battle was slain by Devî, who with a great sword cut off his head. Then with lamentations perished the whole army of Daityas,† and all the troops of Devatâs exceedingly rejoiced. The Suras‡ with the heavenly Maharshis§ praised Devî, the chief Gandharvas sang, and the troops of Apsarases danced.

* I. e. He came in his proper form out of the buffalo's mouth.

† Demons, Asuras, children of Diti, the mother of the Titan or giant race of Hindu mythology, by Kasyapa, grandson of Brahmâ.

‡ Deities, Devatâs. § The fourth of the seven orders of Rishis.

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Page 11, note †. *For* "More probably", *read* "Some have supposed it to be". (Cp. note† p. 158.)

Page 65. *For* "Mâhâmalaipûr", *read* "Mahâmalaipûr".

Page 96, note*. *For* "Arâkkennei (ஆறாக்கெண்ணெய்) temple", *read* "Urakkennei (உழக்கெண்ணெய்) Îsvara temple"; and *for* "one ollock (about 1½ gill)", *read* "one *urakku* (about 3 gills)".—(Cp. p. 210.)

Page 114. "Vijayanagaram ascendancy" appears to be a misprint in the original for "Vijayanagaram dynasty."

Page 115, notec. *For* "Vellugâtivâru", *read* "Velugôtivâru".

Page 116. *For* "a clue", *read* "as a clue".

Pages 124, 126, 128. "Pavarakkâran's (*prop.* Pavalakkâran's) Choultry" signifies "Coral-monger's Choultry," (Korallenhändler-Sattiram—Graul.)

Page 126. *For* "Mahendra Shanta", *read* "Mahendra *Sânta*."

Page 126, note*. With reference to Sir Walter Elliot's remark on the Tamil alphabet, it will be observed that the Grantha letter ஶ, not the Tamil letter ச, is used in the word "Adi*sa*ndeswara," in the inscription referred to. (See p. 128.)

Page 128. ஆதிஸண்டேஸ்வர is probably an error in the transcript for ஆதிஸண்டேஸ்வர.

Page 133. *For* "Mâhavarâha" *read* "Mahâvarâha.'"

Page 141. "36th year" appears to be an error for "37th year." (Cp. p. 121.)

Page 143, line 14 from the bottom. *For* மாமலபுரமான, *read* மாமல்லபுரமான.

Page 173, Sloka 4. *For* उपोयुषा, *read* उपेयुषा.

Page 173, note*. A fourth MS. reads—

दिवु सर्वासु च ततो मेरौ निश्चयमेयुषा ।
संतुष्टया धिया तस्य लाभतो मुनिरैधत ॥

Page 174, Sloka 13. *For* च्कृत्वा, *read* च्कुत्वा.

Page 178. *For* "Harisekara," *read* "Harisekhara."

Page 181. "Pundarîkasarasu", *read* "Pundarîkasaras."

Page 184. For *Asrâma*, read *Asrama*.

Page 185. *For* "Sthalasayî", *read* "Sthalasâyî".

Page 216, note‡. *For* "Peria", *read* "Periya."

Page 217. *For* "Pundarîkapuskarinî", "*read* Pundarîkapushkarinî."

Additional Note.

Mr. Fergusson (*History of Architecture*, Vol. II., p. 502 ff.,) thus describes three of the five *Rathas*:—

The Southernmost, No. 43 in the Sketch, he remarks "imitates a Buddhist monastery of five storeys. * * The time at which it was executed was very little removed from that of Buddhism in this part of India. There is little or none of the extravagance of later Hindu styles in the sculptures. * Neither the Jains nor the Hindus introduced anything like a new style of architecture. They adapted the Buddhist style to their own purposes." * *

No. 41, Mr. Fergusson describes as being "the only free-standing monolithic representation I know in India of such a temple [Chaitya] as those excavated in the rock at Ajanta and elsewhere. * * But in this, as in all more modern structures of this class, we find considerable confusion between the forms of the temple and those of the monastery. This is no more than might be expected when we consider that the original purposes to which those forms were adapted had ceased to exist, and that in these late copies what were originally essential constructive necessities have become mere ornamental appendages."

And No. 42, the same authority states, "evidently belongs to the same system. * * There can be little doubt that it is the copy of a variety of the Buddhist temple or Chaitya, of which we have no exact representation in the caves—probably of a built Buddhist temple."

ADDENDUM.

Since the foregoing pages were printed, Mr. R. Bruce Foote, F. G. S., of the Geological Survey of India, has kindly favoured the Editor with the following—

Notes on the Geology of Mahâvalipuram.

The rock in which the temples at Mahâvalipuram are cut is a low ridge of quartzo-felspathic gneiss, an extension of which occurs at the fishing village of Padari, nearly three miles to north, and also at Cullatoor, three miles to the S. S. W.

The bedded character of the rock is but very rarely seen, hence it has often been described as a granite. The strike of the bedding is N. by 5° E.—S. by 5° W. and coincides with that of the grain of the rocks and with the general direction of the hilly ridges further inland. The dip of the beds appears to be westerly but is very obscure and nearly obliterated by excessive metamorphic action.

The texture of the rock suggests the idea of a coarse gritty bed having been exposed to severe lateral pressure, the quartz and felspar having an irregular flakey arrangement and not forming distinctly continuous laminæ as in typical gneiss rock. The color of the rock when freshly quarried is a rich pinkish grey weathering to a drab or pale dirty flesh color. Where exposed to the sea spray, as in the walls of the Shore Temple, the stone acquires a black color and decays far more rapidly than where merely exposed to wind and weather further inland. This gneiss has been, and is still, largely quarried, as it splits very easily into blocks of useful size and shape, and has a decidedly handsome appearance.

The ridge of rocks to the East of the Shore Temple on which the fury of the surf is broken, consists also of gneiss, but probably belongs to another bed running in a parallel direction. The East foot of the Mahâvalipuram gneiss ridge is covered by the beach or by blown sands, but at its West side are beds of sand and clay abounding in Marine and Œstuarine shells of recent species, but in a subfossil condition. These beds are cut through in many places by the Coast Canal.

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